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THE
HONESTIE OF THIS AGE :
PROVING BY GOOD CIRCUMSTANCE
THAT THE WORLD WAS NEVER
HONEST TILL NOW.

BY
BARNABY RICH,

GENTLEMAN,
SERVANT TO KING JAMES I.

With an Introduction and Notes
BY PETER CUNNINGHAM.

LONDON.

REPRINTED FOR THE PERCY SOCIETY,
BY T. RICHARDS, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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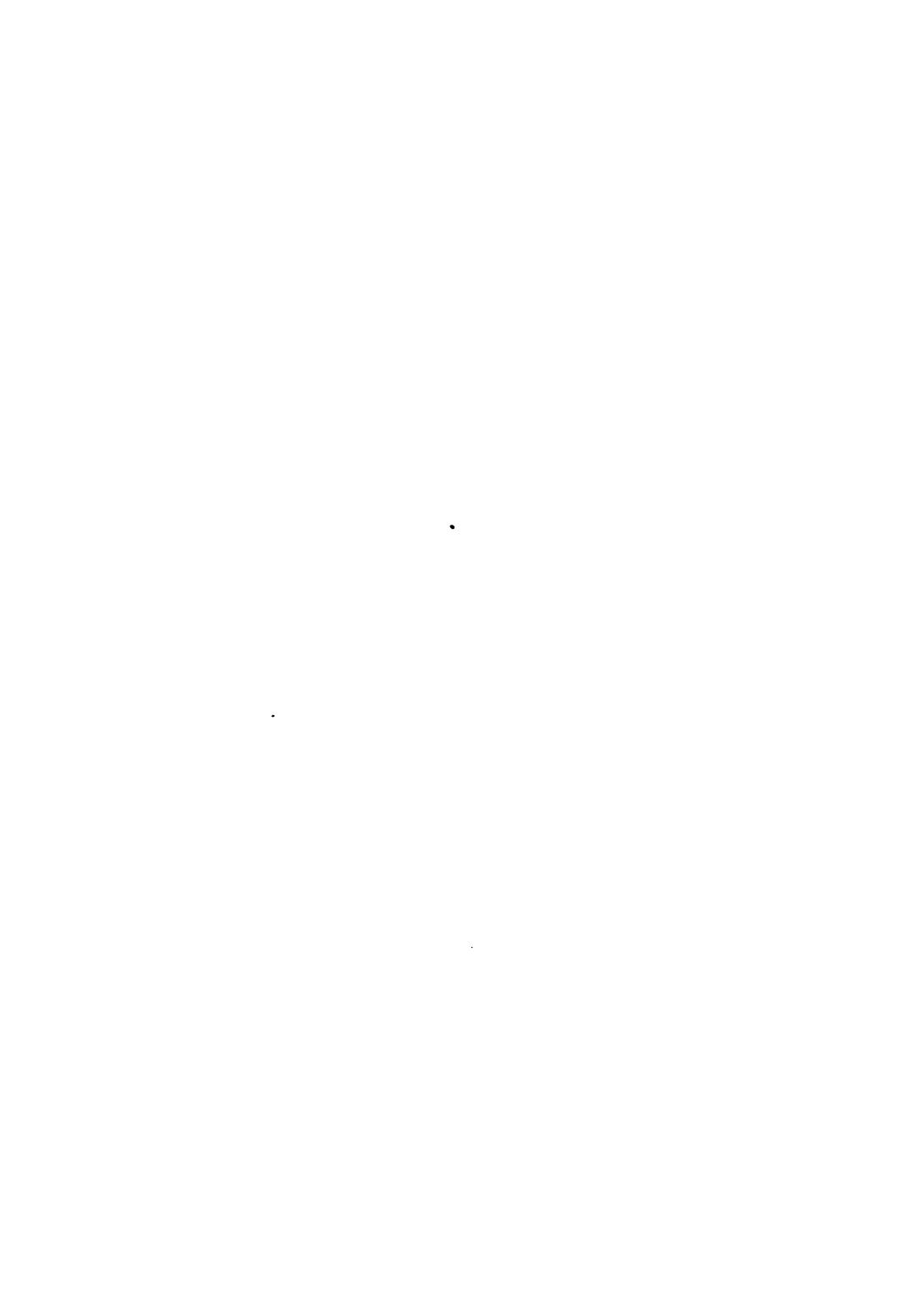
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INTRODUCTION.

BARNABY RICH was a prolific pamphleteer in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James. His first known production is dated in 1574, and his last in 1624. His tracts, some six-and-twenty in number, are all of them curious pictures of the age, and all are scarce.

It is not known when or where he was born, or when or where he died. He was perhaps of Welsh descent.

Like Gascoigne, Churchyard, and other poetic spirits of that age, he was a soldier carrying arms. Ireland and the Low Countries were then the seats of war, and Churchyard, in his "True discourse historical of the succeeding Governors in the Netherlands," refers to *Captain Barnaby Rich his notes*, as his authority for several circumstances related therein.

Rich is a vehement inveigher against vice in all its subdivisions. He is a *school of abuse*, like Gossen, or like Prynne. He anathematizes peri-wigs, picardils, and shaparownes, rich wines and yellow-starch, side saddles, and coaches,—no new enormity escapes him, and he blows a *Counterblast*

to Tobacco, carrying odour to the nostrils of King James.

Rich, in one of his early productions, employed the poet Lodge to lop the superfluities of his pen. But Lodge became one of the wicked, and Rich relied in future on his own unassisted knowledge.

That his writings were read and admired there is other testimony than their number, or the successive editions they went through. In his "*Have with you to Saffron Waldon*," Nash says: "*A rich spirit, quoth-a? nay then, a spirit in the way of Honesty too. Loe! this it is to be read in nothing but Barnaby Riche's workes.*"

I have been at some pains to make out a correct catalogue of Rich's writings. Mr. Collier's kindness has enabled me to add the name of another work to the hitherto ascertained list of his publications.

CATALOGUE OF BARNABY RICH'S WORKS.

1. "A Right Exelent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mer-
cvry and an English Souldier: contayning his Supplica-
tion to Mars: Bewtified with sundry worthy Histories,
rare inuentions, and politike deuises. Wrytten by B.
Rich, Gen. 1574."—16mo., b. l.

The dedication (signed Barnabe Rych) is addressed to Ambrose Earl of Warwick, "Generall of the Queenes Maiesties Ordinance, within her highnes Realms and Dominions."

"In this little book," he says, "I hauedescrybed certayne noble facts and other high employtes,

achiued by great and mighty Princes, and other valiaunt Captaines ; also not forgetting to manifest the great abuse that is generally vsed, in the setting forth of Souldiers, in the tyme of seruice, which I my selfe haue seene and marked."

The maner of chosing Souldiers in England.

" The Prince, or Counsayll, sendeth downe theyr warrant, to certayne Commissioners, of euerye such Shyer where they mynde too haue suche a number of Souldyers to bee leuyed and appoyneted, the Commissioner he sendeth hys precept to the hye Constable of euerye Hundred, the hye Constable of euerye Hundred, he geueth knowledge to euerye petye Constable of euerye Parrysh within his cyrquet, that uppon such a daye, he must bring two or three able and suffycient men, to serue y^e Prince, before such Comissioners, to such a place. The pety Constable when he perceyueth that wars are in hand, foreseeing the toyles, the infinite perilles, and troublesome trauayles that is incident to Souldyers, is loth that anye honest man, through his procurement, shuld hazard himselfe amongst so many daungers, wherfore if within his office, there hap to remayne anye idle felow, some droukerd, or sedicioouse quariler, a priuye picker, or such a one as hath some skill in stealing of a Goose, these shall bee presented to the seruyce of the Prince ; and what seruyce is too bee loked for amongst such fellowes, I thinke may easily be deemed."

There is a copy in the Bodleian Library, and a second, imperfect at the end, in Mr. Collier's possession.

2. "Allarme to England, foreshewing what perilles are procured, where the people liue without regarde of Martiall Lawe. With a short discourse conteyning the decay of Warlike Discipline, conuenient to be perused by Gentle-men, such as are desirous by seruice to seeke their owne deserued prayse, and the preseruation of their Countrey. Newly deuised and written by Barnabe Riche, Gentleman. *Malui me diuitem esse quam vocari.*" Perused and allowed, 1578."

Dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton. "What I have written," he says, "was onely done in Ireland where there is no great choice of bookees to be had....My training up," he adds, "has been more with my pike than with my pen; not in the schools among clerks, but in the fields among unlettered soldiers."

There is a copy in the British Museum, another in the Bodleian, and a third in the possession of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville.

Churchyard has a copy of verses, and Barnabe Googe a prose letter, prefixed. Googe's letter is dated from Kingstone, to his "very louing friend Captaine Barnabe Riche: That noble gentleman," he writes, "Sir William Drurie, a paragon of armes, at this day was wont (I remember) to say that the Souldiers of England had alwayes one of these three ends to looke for—to be slaine, to begge, or to be hanged."

“I was never able,” says Rich, “to climb Parnassus hill, although I have travailed over Gaddes hyll in Kent, and that sundrie tymes and often.”

3. “Riche his Farewell to Militarie profession: conteyning verie pleasaunt discourses fit for a peaceable tyme: gathered together for the onely delight of the courteous Gentlewomen, bothe of Englande and Irelande, for whose onely pleasure thei were collected together, and unto whom thei are directed and dedicated by Barnabe Riche, Gentleman.” *Malui me divitem esse quam vocari.* Imprinted at London, by Robart Walley, 1581.”

The only copy known of this edition is in the Bodleian Library. The second edition is dated 1606.

Shakespeare is said to have been indebted to the history of “Apolonius and Silla,” in this book, for part of the story of “Twelfth Night.” Apolonius and Silla forms a part of Mr. Collier’s “Shakespeare’s Library” (2 vols. 8vo.) n. d.

Rich’s interesting account, in this book, of Sir Christopher Hatton’s house at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, has been copied by Mr. Collier into his *Poetical Decameron*, vol. ii. p. 138. “Riche his Farewell” is about to be reprinted by the *Shakespeare Society*.

4. “The straunge and wonderfull adventures of Don Simonides, a gentilman Spaniarde. Conteyning verie pleasaunt discourse: Gathered for the recreation as well of our noble yong gentilmen, as our honourable courtly Ladies; by

Barnabe Riche, gentleman, &c. Imprinted at London
by Robert Walley, &c. 1581. b. l. 4to., 71 leaves.

The dedication is addressed to Sir Christopher Hatton. The poet Lodge corrected this book, for the soldier Barnaby; he has a copy of verses prefixed.

There is a copy of this book in the Bodleian, and another in the library at Bridgewater House. (See Collier's Bridgewater Catalogue, p. 251).

5. "The true Report of a late Practise enterprised by a Papist, with a yong Maiden, Eliz. Orton, born in Orton Madocke, in the Co. of Kent, in Wales. London, by Robert Walley, 1582," 4to.

Dedication addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham. There is a copy in the British Museum.

6. "The Second Tome of the Travailes and Adventures of Don Simonides, enterlaced with varietie of Historie, wherein the curteous and not curious Reader maie find matters so leveled as maie suffice to please all humours, &c. Written by Barnabe Rich, Gentleman, &c. Imprinted at London, for Robert Walley, &c., 1584," b. l. 4to., 75 leaves.

This, like the first volume of the same romance, is dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton. There is a copy in the Bodleian, and another in the Bridgewater Library. (See Collier's Catalogue, p. 252).

7. "The Famous Hystory of Herodotus. Conteyning the Discourse of dyuers Countreys, the succession of theyr Kyngs, the actes and employtes atchieued by them, the

lawes and customes of every nation, with the true Description and Antiquitie of the same. Deuided into nine Bookes, entituled with the names of the nine Muses, at London, Printed by Thomas Marshe, 1584." 4to., b. l.

Dedication signed B. R. addressed to " Mayster Robert Dormer, sonne to the noble Knight Sir William Dormer." There is a copy in the King's Library at the Museum.

8. "A Path-way to Military Practise, whereunto is annexed a Kalender of the Imbattlinge of Men; London, by John Charlewood, 1587," 4to.

There are three dedications, one to the 'Princesse Elizabeth,' another 'To the most noble Captaines and renowned Souldiers of England,' and the third 'To the friendly Readers in generall,'—*Lowndes*.

9. "The Aduentures of Brusanus, Prince of Hungaria, Pleasant for all to read, and profitable for some to follow. Written by Barnaby Riche, seaven or eight yeares sithence, and now published by the great intreathy of diuers of his frendes. Imprinted at London for Thomas Adames, 1592," 4to., b. l.

The dedication is "To the woorshipfull and vertuous yoong Gentlewoman, mistresse Jayes Aston, daughter to the right worshipfull Sir Edward Aston, Knight;" but it gives no information, excepting that Rich subscribes himself "your loving Cosyn," showing that he was a man of some family.

The only perfect copy known is in Dulwich College.

Mr. Collier has favoured me with the following extract from this rare tract. Rich is describing the character of Gloriosus a courtier of Epirus.

“ The loftines of his lookes was much to be marveld at, but the manner of his attire was more to be laughed at. On his head, he woare a hatte without a band, like a Mallcontent, his haire hanging downe to both his shoulders, as they use to figure a hagge of hell, his beard cut *peecke a deuaunt*, turnde uppe a little, like the Vice of a playe.”

10. “ A Looking Glass for Ireland. London, for John Oxenbridge, 1599.”
11. “ A Souldier’s wishe to Briton’s welfare : or a discourse fit to be read of all gentlemen and souldiers, written by a captaine of Experience, 4to., London, 1604.”

There is a copy in the Bodleian.

12. “ The Fruites of long Experience. A pleasing view for Peace, A Looking-Glasse for Warre, or call it what you list. Discoursed betweene two Captaines. By Barnabie Rich, Gentleman. *Malui me divitem esse quam vocari.* Imprinted at London by Thomas Creede, for Jeffrey Charlton, &c., 1604.” 4to., b. l.

The fruits of Rich’s long experience (“ forty yeares training in the warres”) is here set forth, in a dialogue between Captain Pill and Captain Skill.

The dedication to Prince Henry. The only copy Mr. Collier has ever seen is in Dulwich College.

13. "Faultes Faults, and nothing else but Faultes. At London, Printed for Jeffrey Charlton, &c., 1606." 66 leaves.

Dedication addressed to Prince Henry. There is a copy in the Bridgewater Library, see Collier's Catalogue, p. 253, and another in Mr. Grenville's Library.

14. "A short survey of Ireland, truely discovering who it is that hath so armed the hearts of that people with disobedience to their Prince: With a description of the countrey, and the condition of the people. No lesse necessarye and needful to be respected by the English, then requisite and behoovefull to be reformed in the Irish. London, N. O. for B. Sutton, and W. Barenger. 1609." 4to.

There is a copy in the Bodleian, and another in the possession of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville.

15. "Roome for a Gentleman, or the Second part of Faultes, collected and gathered for the true Meridian of Dublin in Ireland, and may serve fitly else where about London, &c. By Barnabe Rych, Souldier, &c. London, printed by J. W. for Jeffrey Charlton, &c. 1609." 4to, 33 leaves.

Dedication addressed to "Sir Thomas Ridge-way, Knight, Treasurer and Vice-Treasurer at Warres in his Majesties Realme of Ireland." There is a copy in the Bridgewater Library; (see Collier's Catalogue, p. 254,) and another in Mr. Grenville's Library.

16. "A New Description of Ireland: Wherein is described the disposition of the Irish, whereunto they are inclined.

No lesse admirable to be perused, then credible to be
beleeued ; neither vnprofitable nor vnpleasant to be read
and vnderstood by those worthy Cittizens of London,
that be now Vndertakers in Ireland : by Barnabe Rich,
Gent. *Malui me divitem esse quam vocari.* Printed at
London for Thomas Adams, 1610."

Dedication to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.
Copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian and
the Library of Mr. Grenville.

"In the time of Sir John Parrate's Gouernment,
I myself lay at Colrane, with a hundred souldiers
vnder my leading, I may therefore speake some-
thing of mine owne experience."

"One of the diseases of this age is the multitude
of books."

"It is but a thriftlesse, and a thanklesse occupa-
tion this wrting of booke; a man were better to
sing in a cobler's shop, for his pay is a penny a
patch; but a booke-writer, if hee get sometimes a
few commendations of the judicious, he shall be sure
to reepe a thousand reproaches of the malicious."

"I haue liued in Ireland of a poor pay, the full
recompence of forty-seven yeares spent in my
prince and countrey's seruice ; I have not begged
nor purchased any man's lands, rents, or reuen-
newes ; I haue not heaped to my selfe eyther
offices or church-liinges, yet something I haue
noted of the country by observation."

"For maister Stanihurste* himselfe, I knew him

* Richard Stanihurste, the poet.

many years sithence at Antwarpe, where hee professed Alcumy, and vndertooke the practise of the Philosophers stone, and when hee had multiplied lies so long that euery body grew weary of him, hee departed from thence into Spaine, and there (as it was said) he turned Physition, and whether he bee aliue or dead, I knowe not."

A New Description of Ireland was reprinted in 1624, under the title of "A New Irish Prognostication or Popish Callender. Wherein is described &c." There is a copy of this re-issue in the Bodleian, and another in the Library of Mr. Grenville. They are word for word the same, the dedications only omitted.

17. "A true and a kinde excuse, written in defence of that book intituled 'A newe description of Ireland.' Pleasant and Pleasing both to English and Irish. London, for Thomas Adams, 1612." 4to., 28 leaves.

There is a copy of this book in the Bodleian, and another in the Library of Mr. Grenville.

18. "A Catholicke conference betweene Syr Tady Mac Mareall, a popish priest of Waterforde, and Patricke Plaine, a young student in Trinity Colledge, by Dublin, in Ireland. Wherein is delivered the certayne manner of execution that was used upon a popish Bishop and a Popish priest, that for several matters of treason were executed at Dublin the first of February now last past, 1611. Strange to be related, credible to be beleaved, and pleasant to bee perused. London, for Thomas Adams, 1612." 4to.

There is a copy in the Bodleian, and another in the Library of Mr. Grenville.

19. "The Excellency of good Women. London, 1613." 4to.

There is a copy in the Bodleian.

20. "Opinion Deified. Discouering the Ingins, Traps, and Traynes that are set in this age, whereby to catch Opinion. Neither Florished with Art, nor Smoothed with Flatterie. By B. R., Gentleman, Seruant to the King's most Excellent Maiestie. London, Printed for Thomas Adams. 1613." 4to.

There are two copies of this book in the British Museum, with two different dedications, the first is addressed to Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I), and the second to Sir Thomas Rydgeway, Treasurer, and Treasurer at Warres in his Maiesties Realme of Ireland. Copies of this book in the Bodleian, and in the Library of Mr. Grenville.

21. "The Honestie of this Age, proouing by good circumstance that the world was neuer honest till now. By Barnabie Rych, Gentleman, Seruant to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. *Malui me diuitem esse quam vocari.* Printed at London for T. A., 1614."

Rich, in the Epilogus, (p. 68 of this reprint), calls this his *twenty-fourth* publication. The copy in the Bodleian Library is dated 1615, and in Mr. Grenville's Library, 1616.

The edition of 1614, from which this reprint has been made, is in the British Museum.

22. "My Ladies Looking Glasse. Wherein may be discerned a wise man from a foole, a good woman from a

bad, and the true resemblance of Vice masked under the vizard of Vertue. By Barnabe Rich, Gentleman, Servant to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. *Malui me divitem esse quam vocari.* London, printed for Thomas Adams, 1616." 4to., 40 leaves.

Dedication addressed to "the wife of Sir Oliver St. Johns, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland" There is a copy in the Bridgewater Library (See Collier's Catalogue, p. 254), another in the Bodleian, and a third in Mr. Grenville's library.

23. "The Irish Hvvvb, or, The English Hve and Crie. Briefely pursuing the base conditions, and most notorious offences of this vile, vaine, and wicked Age. No lesse smarting then tickling. A merriment whereby to make the wise to laugh, and fooles to be angry. By Barnaby Rich, Gentleman, and Seruant to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.

" Mounted aloft vpon the world's great stage,
I stand to note the follies of the Age."*

" Malui me divitem esse, quam vocari."

London, Printed for John Marriot, and are to be sold at his shop at the little doore in St. Dunstane's Church-yard in Fleet-street, 1619.

The dedication to Sir Oliver Saint John, Lord Deputy of Ireland, is dated from " Dublin, the 4th of May, 1619." There is a copy in the Bodleian, dated 1617. Mr. Grenville's copy is the edition of 1619.

" That which in England we doe call the Hue

* From the Introductory Verses to " The Honestie of this Age."

and Cry, in Ireland they doe call the Hubbub. The intent of it was, at the first, that when any Rebels or Thieues came to doe any robbery in the Countrey, they should then raise the Cry (which they call the Hubbub), thereby to give notice to the inhabitants round about, that they might combine and gather themselves together in a maine strength, either to recover any prey that the Theeues or Rebels had taken, or at the least to make resistance in their own defence, and as much as in them did lie, to save the countrey from any further spoyle."

Of Stanihurste he says, "first he was a Chronicler, then a Poet, and after that he professed Alchymie, and now he is become a massing priest."

"The vicious lecher will call him Puritan, that will not beare him company to a Bawdy house."

"The bold-faced stage player that trades in poysoning all sorts and ages with verses reesed in the smoke of lust and blasphemous Scripture jests ; these and the like slinke in the presence of God, and one day God will send them all to him whom in this life they served."

"What is become of our ancient bounty in house-keeping ? Those whose ancestors lived in stately Palaces, like Princes in their Country, bravely attended by a number of proper men, now come and live in the Cittie, where they are but inmates, rogues by statute : and my young master and his

boy spend that which was wont to maintain so many."

"Gentle-men were wont to bring vp their Heires in the knowledge of arts and literature ; it now sufficeth if hee can but write his own name in a Mercer's book, put his hand to an obligation, or to a bill of bargain and sale : this is learning enough for a gentleman in these dayes."

"Wee buy Titles of honour with gold, that our Predecessors purchased with virtue."

"Now they doe paint with Indian excrements, and besmear themselves with Jewish spittle."

"I protest I do not know a dishonest woman in England nor in Ireland of my owne experience."

"Many in pledging of Healths have ended their lives presently, as example lately in London."

"In former ages they had no conceits whereby to draw on drunckenesse ; their best was, I drinke to you, and I pledge yee, till at length some shallow-witted drunkard found out the Carowse, which shortly afterwards was turned into a hearty draught.

"The institution of drinking of an health is full of ceremony, and observed by Tradition, as the Papists doe their praying to Saints.

"He that beginnes the health, hath his prescribed orders : first vncouering his head, hee takes a full cup in his hand, and settling his countenance with a grave aspect, hee craves for audience. Silence being once obtained, hee beginnes to breathe out

the name, peradventure of some Honourable Personage that is worthy of a better regard than to have his name polluted at so vnfiting a time, amongst a company of Drunkards ; but his health is drunke to, and he that pledgeth must likewise off with his cap, kisse his fingers, and bowing himselfe in signe of a reverent acceptance ; when the Leader sees his Follower thus prepared, hee soups vp his broath, turnes the bottom of the cup vpward, and in ostentation of his dexteritie giues the cup a phillip, to make it cry *Twango* ; and thus the first scene is acted.

“The cup being newly replenished to the breadth of an haire, he that is the pledger must now beginne his part, and thus it goes round throughout the whole company, provided alwaies by a canon set downe by the Founder, there must be three at the least still vncovered till the health hath had the full passage ; which is no sooner ended, but another beginnes again, and hee drinkes an Health to his *Lady of little worth*, or, peradventure, to his *light-heeld mistris*.”

“There was sometime a poore Farmer, who dwelling neere a Gentleman, a Justice of Peace, that would have bought a yoke of Oxen which this Farmer could not spare, and, therefore, vpon necessitie was driuen to make deniall ; whereupon Master Justice conceived such displeasure, that after this repulse the poore man found himselfe to bee continually crossed and disturbed, and from

time to time so many wayes wronged, that he came to this gentleman to seeke justice ; whom hee found still to bee rather supporting those that did oppresse him, than seeming any wayes to render him right ; but perceiving at the length the truth from whence it grew, in a submissive manner he came to Master Justice. Why (sayd the Justice) doe you thinke mee to bee your enemy ? Alas (sayd the Farmer) I doe feele the smarte of it, and am come in this humble manner to beseech your good will. Why then (sayd the Justice) you see I can bite, though I doe not barke. I doe see and feele it (quoth the Farmer) but, Sir, if I had a Dogge of that condition, I protest I would hang him as soone as I came home."

He illustrates the old proverb "It's no more pitty to see a woman weep, than to see a goose goe bare-foot," by the following story :—

"Like the woman, that when her Husband was hanged on the fore-noon, shee felle a weeping in the afternoone, and did lament with such vehement shewes of sorrow, that her neighbours comming about her, began to exhort her to patience; telling her that she was not the first woman that had had a Husband hanged ; and although the manner of his death was somewhat disgracefull to the world, yet they wisht her to play a wise woman's part, and not to take such grieve, wherby to hurt her selfe for that which could not now be holpen. True, true indeed, answered this sorrowfull woman, it

cannot now bee holpen, and I would bee loathe to hurt my selfe by playing too much the fool ; neither doe I take this greefe for that my Husband was hanged, but for that he was not hanged in a cleane shirt ; if his linen had bin cleanly about him, his hanging would never have greeved me."

" Hee that should haue come to a Lady in Ireland but some fие or six yeeres sithence, and haue asked her if she would haue had a *Shaparowne*, she would haue thought he had spoken bawdy, and would haue wondred what he meant. They are now conuersant to euery Chamber-maide, and shee that came but lately out of a kitchen, if her husband doth beare an office, (how meane soeuer), if she be not suted in her *Shaparowne*, in her loose hanging gowne, in her peticoates of sattin, yea, and of veluet, that must be garded with siluer or gold lace, from the knee downe to the foote, her Husbande may happen to hear of it, and, (peraduenture), to fare the worse till she be prouided."

" There is not a people under the face of Heauen that be of a more haughty and proud spirit then are the Irish ; proud mindes they have euer had, but for any pride in their apparell, they neuer knew what it meant till they learned it from the English. It was a great daintie within these very few yeares, euen amongst their greatest Nobilitie, to see a cloake lined thorow with Veluet ; they were not acquainted with a paire of silke stockings, they had no Velvet Saddles, nor the greatest num-

ber of them so much as a paire of bootes to draw on when they were to ride. For their Ladies and Gentlewomen, (euen those that were of the most great and honourable houses), they little knew what belonged to this frizling, and this curling of haire ; and for this lowsie commoditie of perywigs, they were not knowne to the Ladies of Ireland ; they were not acquainted with these curling sticks, setting sticks, smoothing irons ; they knew not what to make of a *Picadilly*,* they neither vsed pouldring nor painting stiffe, they knew not what a coach meant, nor scarce a side saddle, till they learnt them from the English."

Among Sir Julius Cæsar's Papers now in the British Museum, (Lansd. MSS. 156), are two Discourses by Barnabe Rych, in his own handwriting, touching the state of Ireland. The first is called by Sir Julius Cæsar, "A Discourse of Capten Barnaby Riche touching Ireland," and is dated by Sir Julius 28th July, 1612. "I have knowne Ireland," says Ryche, "thes 40 yeares."

The second is called by Rich himself,—

"The Anothomy of Ireland in the man^r. of a dyalogue, truly dyscoverynge the state of the Cuntrye, for hys ma^{rs}. especyall servyce. By Barnabe Ryche, Gentylman, Servant to the kynges most Excelent matie.

The date at the end is 15th December, 1615. Sir Julius Cæsar had read the paper with atten-

* See note at p. 73.

tion, and has written at the sides of several passages underscored, "name the woman," "name the knight," "name the man," "name the persons."

In the same volume is an Establishment of the King's Pensioners in Ireland, dated 16th October, 1606. Among the "pensioners by patent during life," I find : (fol. 242).—

" Barnaby Riche, per diem, ijs. vjd.

Meagre as are these notices, they contain all that is known of Barnaby Rich, and I have now only to thank my friends for prompt and valuable assistance. The communications of Mr. Collier have been made with his customary kindness, and Mr. Halliwell has directed my researches in a way that calls for an acknowledgment.

P. C.

THE
H O N E S T I E
OF THIS AGE

Proouing by good circumstance
that the world was neuer honest
till now.

By BARNABEE RYCH, Gentleman, Seruant to the Kings
most Excellent Maiestie.

Malui me divitem esse quam vocari.

Printed at London for T. A. 1614.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SYR THOMAS
MIDDLETON, KNIGHT, L. MAIOR OF THE
HONORABLE CITTIE OF LONDON!

MOST Honourable Lord, to auoid idlenes I have, with Domitian, endeauoured to catch *flies*; I have taken in hand a text that will rather induce hatred, then winne loue, I have spoken against those abhominations that are not lesse odible in the sight of the powers of heaven, then monstrous to bee tollerated heere upon the face of the earth; I have grasped at greater matters, then (some will say), is fitting to be handled by a Souldier's penne.

The adulterer will not indure it, the drunkard wil be angry with it, the blasphemer will sweare at it, the bribetaker will despite it, the Papist will malice it, to conclude (most honorable), there is no guiltie conscience that will willingly entertaine it.

Remayning then in some doubtfulnes of mind to whom I might bequeath it, that would eyther grace or give countenance vnto it, I was prompted by report of your lordship's worthinesse, that now in the course of your gouernement in this honorable cittie of London,

you have set up those lights for the suppressing of
seuerall sorts of sinnes, that as they haue already
aduanced your applause amongst those that bee of the
best approued honesty, so they will remaine for euer
in record to your perpetuall prayse.

Let not, therefore, my boldnes seeme presumptuous
that being altogether vnknowne to your lordship, have
yet presumed to shelter my lines vnder your honorable
name, and thus in affiance of your honorable
acceptance, I rest to doe your
lordshippe any other
kinde of
seruice.

Your Lordship's to commaund.

BARNABE RYCH.

TO ALL THOSE READERS THAT ARE
WELL DISPOSED.

GENTLEMEN, there are but fewe in these dayes that are willing to heare their faultes, but they are fewer by a great number that are willing to amend them. Find faults could neuer yet get grace, for Adulation is crept so closely into our bosomes that smoothing Flatterie is more dearely esteemed then reprehending Veritie.

I confesse my selfe to be ill beholding to mine owne tongue, that could neuer flatter, lispe, nor lye. Nature hath made the carriage of my wordes to bee something harsh and dull, yet when they seeme to be most slow, perhaps sometimes they be most sure. I speake plainly, and I meane honestly, and although my wordes be not imbroydered with high morality, I care not, for I leave that to Schollers, Maisters of Art and Methode.

If my lynes be plaine and true, they so much the more resemble their Sier, and for children to bee like their parentes, besides the midwife will glue it a blessing, so it is a signe they be legitimate ; defectes I know they cannot want, that in their procreation were bred and borne before their time, for as I conceyued of them in an instant, so I was deliuered againe in a moment,

and these abortiue brates that are thus hastily brought into the world, though they seldom prooue to haue any great vigor or strength yet I hope these will prooue to be of as honest and plaine dealing as their father.

I make no doubt but they will please as many as I desire to content, and those are good men and vertuous women ; for the rest that are gauled, if I rubbe them unawares, it is but Chance-medly, and then I hope I shall obtaine a pardon, of course protesting afore-hand that I haue not aymed at any one particularly that hath not a guiltie conscience to accuse himselfe: if any man will thinke them to be too bitter, let him use it as an apothecaries pill, that the more bitter, the better purging.

TO THE MUSES.

Pierian sisters, Types of true Renowne.

The radyant lights of Art and sacred skill,
I come not to implore a Lawrell Crowne,

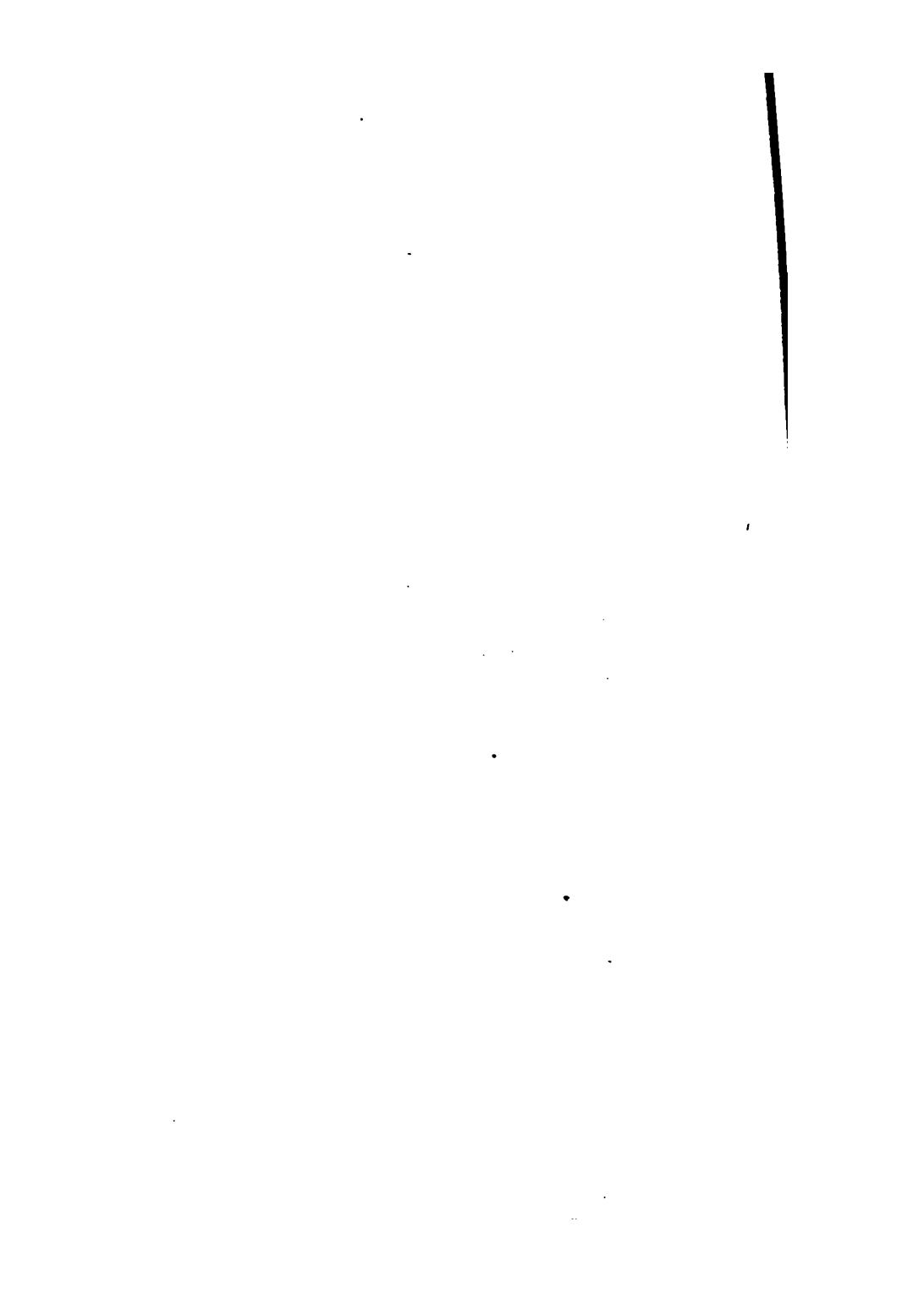
Wherewith to decke my rude untutred quill.
Nor doe I seeke to climbe Parnassus hill.

In briefe, the world of folly I vpbrayde,
Yet dare not presse, Faire Dames, to craue your aide.

I smooth no sinne, I sing no pleasing song,
I cloake no vice, I seeke to bleare no eyes ;
I would be loath to doe Minerua wrong,
To forge untruths, or decke my lynes with lyes ;
I cannot fable, flatter, nor disguise.

Yet mounted now on Tyme's discerning stage,
I stand to note the Follies of our Age.

FINIS.



THE HONESTIE OF THIS AGE.

WHEN Philip, that was the father of the great Alexander, was leuying an armie for the warres, which hee intended against the Athenians, and that, through all the partes of Macedonia, the countrey was filled with the noyse of shrill sounding trumpets and of ratling drums, and that the people, in like maner, as busily bestirred themselue to helpe and set forward the souldiers, that were then making readie to follow the captaines.

Euery man being thus in action, about this great preparation, in the midst of all this busines, Diogenes beganne to rolle and rumble his Tubb, still tossing and tumbling it from place to place in that vnaccustomed manner, that some that did beholde him, demanded of him his meaning in the matter ; why (said Diogenes) do you not see this strange alteration, that euery man is doing of somewhat, now on the sodaine, and why should not I be as busie as the best ! I cannot be idle, and although I can do nothing else, yet I will rumble my Tubb amongst them, if it be but to hold them company.

I would apply this president in mine owne excuse

that nowe in this quicke sprited age, when so many excellent wittes are indeuouring by their pennes to set vpp lightes, and to giue the world new eyes to see into deformitie, why should not I, that can doe little, yet apply my selfe to doe something, if it be but with Diogenes to rumble my Tubb? yet I know I shall offend, for the world is so luld a sleepe in pleasures lap, that they cannot indure any rumbling noyse that should awaken them out of that sweete sleepe of securitie. Hee that would please the time must learne to sing *lullaby* to Folly, and there is no musicke so delightfull as the smoothing vp of sinne.

How many worthy preachers be there in these daies, that haue with Heraclitus bewayled the iniquitie of the time, and that haue thundered forth the judgements of God, which the Holy Scriptures haue threatned to fall vpon impenitent sinners, but what doe lamentations auayle? they doe but make a rumbling like Diogenes Tubb, the sound is no sooner past, but it is as quickly forgotten; let them weepe therefore that list with Heraclitus, I will make my selfe a little merrie with Democritus; I will laugh at the follies of the world, let the world laugh as fast againe at me, I looke for no better, and not onely to be mocked at, but likewise to be wounded and tortured with lying and slanderous tongues.

The blaspheming wretch that is ready to make the heauens to tremble, with whole vollies of oathes, that hee will thunder forth but for the wagging of a straw, will bitterly sweare and protest against me.

The licentious whooremaster, that in hunting after harlots consumes himselfe both in body and soule, will censure me.

The beastly drunkard more loathsome than a swine, when he hath so ouercharged his stomacke, that hee can no longer holde, (together with his draffe) will vomit out my reproches.

The finicall foole, that by his nice and queint atyre, may well be resembled to the Sea Mermayd, seeming halfe a man and halfe a harlot, will not forbeare to mocke and deride me,

The bribing officer will bitterly curse me.

The tradesmen and shopkeeper, that doe buy and sell vanities, will grudge and murmure at me.

The country swayne, that will sweate more on Sun-dayes dancing about a May pole, then hee will doe all the weeke after at his worke, will haue a cast at me.

The infamous harlot, that prostitutes her selfe to euerie vicious lecher, will pronounce me an open enemie to woman kind.

Olde mother B. the bawd, will shut her doors against me.

Now what will become of me that shall be thus beset with such a graceles company ? let me beseech your prayers, you that be wise and iudicious, you that bee endued with wisedome and knowledge, let me yet finde fauour in your eyes. I rather desire my confirmation from those fewer in number, whose names are enrolled in the book of life, then from the multitude treading those steppes that doe assuredly lead to a second death.

And you good and gracious women, whom the Holy Scriptures doe auow to be more precious then pearle, let mee intreat your fauourable aspect.

You damoseles and yong gentle-women, that are no lesse adorned with modestie, then garnished with beautie, I haue euer regarded you with a reuerent estimation.

You married wiues, that are ornified with honestie, wisedome, and vertue, I doe acknowledge you to be the glory of your husbands.

The whole sexe of woman kinde in generall, as well old as young, that haue not tainted their owne credites with ouer much immodest boldnesse, I doe honour them, and I doe prostitute my selfe for euer to doe them humble seruice.

✓ I haue heard speaking of the Golden Age of the worlde, and some will say it is long sithens past, yet some others doe thinke that the true golden age (indeed) was neuer till now, when gold and gifts doe compasse all things ; but, if I might giue my censure, I would call this the Honest Age of the Worlde ; I confesse that in former ages the worlde hath beene simple and plaine dealing, but neuer honest till now.

Till now that bribery, vsury, forgery, periury, and such other like impieties, are honest mens professions, and that those indeuours that in times past were accounted abhominable, are now made vsuall trades for honest men to liue by.

Till now that rich men be faultlesse and must not be reprehended in their drunkennesse, in their blas-

phemies, in their adulteries, they must not be blamed, nor how soeuer they oppresse and extort, the poore must not complaine.

And who dares take exceptions but to a meane magistrate, that is crept into an office perhaps by corruption. No, it is dangerous to looke into his abhominations, but hee is sure to perish that will but open his lippes to speake against his ill.

And what a dangerous matter would it bee to call such a lawyer a *pick-purse*, that will take vpon him the defence of a matter that in his owne conscience he knoweth to be uniust, and yet will send his clyent home foure tymes a yeare with an empty purse.)

And he that robbes the realme of corne, and of all other commodities, transporting it beyond the seas, is hee not an honest trading merchant, and what is he that dares call him theefe?

And how many tradesmen and shop-keepers are there, to vent their counterfeite stufte, will not sticke both to lye, to sweare, and to vse many other colusions whereby to deceiue, yet who dares tell him that he is but a common cosiner.

No, it is more safetie for a man to commit sinne, then to reprove sinne; and what an easie matter is it nowe for a man to be honest ouer it hath beene in times past, when euery vsurer, euery briber, euery extortioneer, euery picker, euery robber, euery adulterer, and euery common drunkard, is an honest man.

And he that will otherwise depraue them, there is law for him; he must stande to the mercy of twelue

men ; a jury shall passe vpon him, and hee shall be conuict in an action of slander.

I am halfe ashamed to speake of the honest men, that be in this age ; and mee thinkes when I have to doe with some of them I should borrow his manners, that hauing to tell a sober tale to a Justice of peace, would still begin his speeches with *Sir reuERENCE of your worships honesty.*

The fellow had learned good manners, and we may well put a Sir reuERENCE when wee doe speake of honesty nowe a dayes ; for euery rich man is an honest man, there is no contradiction to that, and this makes a number of them to gather wealth, they care not howe, by the vndoing of their poore neighbours, because they woulde be honest.

In former ages he that was rich in knowledge, was called a wise man, but now there is no man wise but he that hath wit to gather wealth, and it is a hard matter in this age for a man to rayse himselfe by honest principles, yet we doe all seeke to climbe, but not by Jacobs ladder, and we are still desirous to mount, but not by the Chariot of Elyas.

Vertue hath but a few that doe fauour her, but they bee fewer, by a great many in number, that are desirous to follow her.

But is not this an honest age, when ougly vice doth beare the name of seemely vertue, when drunkennes is called good fellowship,² murther reputed for man-hooде, lechery is called honest loue, impudency good audacitie, pride they say is decency, and wretched

misery they call good husbandry, hypocrisie they call sinceritie, and flattery doth beare the name of eloquence, truth and veritie; and that which our predecessors would call flat knavery passeth now by the name of wit and policy.

Then fie vpon Honestie, that is thus poluted by men; I hope yet amongst women wee shall finde it more pure and vndefiled.

In former ages there were many imperfections attributed to women that are now accounted no defects at all, neyther are they thought to bee any scandals to their reputations.

Moses seemeth in a sorte to scoffe at some foolish nicities that were vsed amongst women in his time.

Deut. 28.

And the Prophet Esay agayne reprehendeth the wanton gestures that were vsed by the daughters of Sion in his daies, at their haughtinesse of minde, at their stretched out neckes, at their wandering eyes, at their walking and their mincing as they passe through the streets; then he setteth downe (as it were) by innumeration, so many vanities as for breuities sake I will here omit to speake of. *Esay. 3.*

As Salomon pronounceth the prayses of those women that be good, so hee marketh out a number of capitall offences whereby we might know the ill. And the ancient Romans banished out of their cittie, all women that were found to be dishonest of their tongues, yet tollerating with those others, that were well knowne to be dishonest of their bodies, thinking the first to

bee more pernicious then the last, because the infirmity of the one proceeded but from the frailtie of the flesh, but the wickedness of the other from an vngracious and a wicked minde; but now the bitterness of a tongue, the pride of a haughtie heart, the shamelesnesse of a face, the immodesty of a mind, the impudency of looks, the rowling of wanton eyes, the lewdnes of manners, the lightnesse of behauisour, the loosenesse of life, nor all the rest of those notes that Salomon hath left vnto vs (the true markes of a wicked woman), all this is nothing nor these imputations are no blemish to a womans credit.

Is shee not to be charged with the abuse of her bodie, it is well shee is honest, what care we for the deformities of the minde.

Will you see now a womans honestie is pent vp in a litle roome, it is still confined but from her girdle downewards.

Is not this a happie age for women. Menne haue manie faults whereby to taynt their credites; there is no imperfection in a woman but that of her bodie, and who is able to proue that, one payre of eyes will not serue, two paire of eyes will not be beleued; there must be three witnesses at the least to testifie the matter.

How shall we be now able to iudge of a harlot, especially if shee be rich, and hath abilitie to bring her accuser to the Comissaries Court? Wee must not condemne her by her outward show, by her new compounded fashions, by her paynting, by her poudering

by her perfuming, by her ryoting, by her roysting, by her reuellung, by her companie keeping, it is not enough to say she was lockt vppe with a gentleman all night in a chamber or that she had beene seene in a strangers bedde, her Proctor will make you to vnderstand a little Latine, if you be not able to proue, *Rem in Re*, you haue slandered her, you must not beleue your owne eyes } in such a case, but you must cry her mercy.

This is it that doth make harlots so scant as they be now in England, not a strumpet to be found if a man would seeke from one end of the towne to another.

A generall corruption hath ouergrown the vertues of this latter times, and the world is become a Brothell house of sinne. It is enough for vs now if we seeke but for the resemblance of vertue, for the soueraigntie of the thing it selfe we neuer trouble our selues about it.

Both men and women that are the very slaues of sin, will yet stand vpon their credites and reputations, and somtimes putting on the visard of Vertue will seeme to march vnder the ensigne of Honestie.

Whether will you tend your steppes, which way will you turne your eyes, or to whom will you lend your listing eares, but you shall meete with vice, looke vpon vanitie, and heare those speeches that doe not onely tend to folly but sometimes to ribauldry, other whiles to blasphemy, and many times to the great dishonor of God.

Will you walke the streetes, there you shall meete Sir Lawrence Lack-land in a cloake lined through

with veluet, and besides his dublet, his hose, his rapier, his dagger not so much, but the spurs that hang ouer his heeles but they shall be beguylde.

Will you nowe crosse the way a little on the other side, there you shall meeet with Sir Henry Haue-little, so trickt vppe in the spicke and span new fashion that you would sooner take him to be Proteus the God of Shapes, or some other like Celestiall power, then a vaine Terestiall foole.

Your eares againe shall be so incumbred with the rumbling and rowling of coaches, and with the clamours of such as doe follow them, that are still crying out, "*O good my lady bestow your charitable almes vpon the lame, the blind, the sicke, the diseased; good my lady one peny, one halfe peny for the tender mercy of God, we beseech it,*" but let them call and cry till their tongues do ake, my lady hath neyther eyes to see nor eares to heare, shee holdeth on her way perhaps to the Tyre makers shoppe, where she shaketh out her crownes to bestowe vpon some new fashioned attire, that if we may say there be deformitie in art, vpon such artificiall deformed periwiggs that they were fitter to furnish a Theater or for her that in a stage play should represent some Hagge of hell, then to bee vsed by a christian woman or to be worne by any such as doth account her selfe to be a daughter in the heauenly Jerusalem.

I am ashamed nowe to aske you to goe into any of these Drinking houses, where you should as well see the beastly behauour of drunkardes, as likewise heare

such swearing and blaspheming as you would thinke
the whole house to bee dedicated to loathsome sinne
and that hell and damnation were both together there
alreadye resident.

Will you now goe visit the shop keepers that are so
busie with their *What lack you sir*, or *What is it you
would haue bought*, and let vs take a good suruey what
the commodities be that they would thus set forth to
sale and we shall find that as Diogenes passing through
a fayre cryed out! *O how many things are here to be
vented that nature hath no need of*, so wee may like-
wise say, O howe many gaudy trifles are here to bee
solde that are good for nothing but to maintaine pride
and vanitie.

If sometimes wee happen to hyt vpon such neces-
saries as are (indeede) behouefull for the vse of man,
let the buyer yet locke to himselfe that he be not
ouerreached by deceit and subtiltie.

Shall we yet make a steppe to Westminster Hall, a
little to ouer-look the lawyers.

My skill is vnable to render due reuerence to the
honorable Judges according to their worthinesse but
especially at this instant as the benches are nowe sup-
plied, neyther would I eclips the honest reputation of
a number of learned lawyers, that are to be held in a
reuerent regard, and that are to be honoured and es-
teemed, yet amongst these there bee a number of others
that doe multiplie sutes, and drawe on quarrelles be-
tweene friend and friend, betweene brother and brother
and sometimes betweene the father and sonne, and

amongst these, although there bee some that can make good shift to send their clients home with penilesse purses, yet there be other some againe, that, at the end of the tearme, doe complaine themselues that their gettings haue not bin enough to defray their expences, and doe therefore thinke that men are become to be more wise in these dayes, then they haue beene in former ages, and had rather put vppe a wrong, then fee a lawyer, but, I doe not thinke there is any such wisedome in this age, when there are so many wrangling spirits that are so ready to commence suites, but for a neighbours goose, that shall but happen to looke ouer a hedge: now what conceipt, I haue in the matter I will partly make manifest by this insuing circumstance.

As the worthy gentlemen that haue beene Lords Maiors of the honourable cittie of London haue beene generally renowned for their wisedome in gouernment, so they haue beene no lesse famed for their hospitality and good housekeeping during the time of their Mairalties.

Amongst the rest there was one who long sithens being readie to set himselfe downe to his dinner with his company that were about him, there thronged in on the sodaine a great company of strangers in that vnreuerent manner as had not formerly beene accustomed, whereupon one of the officers comming to the L Mayor sayd vnto him,—*If it please your lordship, here be too few stooles.* *Thou lyest, knaue,* (answered the Maior), *There are too many guests.*

Now I am perswaded that if lawyers, (indeed), haue iust cause to complaine of their little gettings, it is not for that there be too few suites, but because there be too many lawyers, especially of these aturnies, solicitors, and such other petty *Foggers*, whereof there be such abundance, that the one of them can very hardly thriue by the other ; and this multitude of them doe trouble all the partes of Englande.

The profession of the Law I doe acknowledge to be honorable, and, (I thinke), the study of it should especi-ally belong to the better sort of gentlemen, but our Innes of Court now, (for the greater part), are stuffed with the offspring of farmers, and with all other sorts of tradesmen, and these, when they haue gotten some few scrapings of the law, they do sow the seedes of suites, they doe set men at variance, and do seeke for nothing more then to checke the course of iustice by their delatory pleas ; for the better sort of the learned law-
yers I doe honour them.

They say it is an argument of a licentious common-wealth, where Phisitians and Lawyers haue too great comminges in, but it is the surfeits of peace that bring-eth in the Phisitian's gaine, yet in him there is some dispatch of businesse, for if he cannot speedily cure you, he will yet quickly kill you ; but with the Lawyer there is no such expedition, he is all for delay, and if his tongue be not well typt with gold, he is so dull of language, that you shall not heare a comfortable worde come out of his mouth in a whole Michaelmasse Tearme ; if you will vnlocke his lips, it must be done

✓ with a golden fee, and that, perhaps, may sette his tongue at libertie to speake, (sometimes), to as good a purpose as if he hadde still beene mute.

✓ Let vs leaue the Lawyer to his study, and let vs now looke a little in at the Court gate, and leauing to speake of those few in number that do aspire to the fauour of the prince by their honest and vertuous endeouours, let vs take a short suruey of those others that doe labour their owne aduancements by base and seruile practises; by lying, by slandering, by backbiting, by dissembling, that haue no other meanes whereby to make themselues gratioues in the eye of greatness but by surrendring themselues to base imployments, that doe sometimes poyson the eares of princes, and under the pretence of common good, do obtaine those suits that doth oppresse a whole common-wealth, and but to maintaine the pride and prodigalitie of a priuate person.

N

In the courts of princes, euery great man, (placed in authority), must be flattered in his follies, praysed in his pleasures, commended in his vanities, yea, his very vices must be made vertues, or els they will say we forget our duties, wee malice his greatness, we envy his fortunes, and hee that will offer sacrifice to Thraso, must haue Gnato to be his priest, for the itching eares of Vaine glory are best pleased when they be scratched by Flattery.

By these steps of smoothing, courtiers must learne to climbe, and more hyts vpon preferment by occasion then eyther by worthines or good desert.

In the courts of princes, fornications, adulteries, and rauishments, and such other like, haue bin accounted young courtiers' sports.

Honest men haue beene there oppressed, rybaulds preferred, simple men scorned, innocent men persecut-
ed, presumptuous men fauoured, flatterers aduanced.

Let the prince himselfe be neuer so studious of the publique good, yet not seeing into all enormities, he is compassed about with those that be enormious. Let Tryan prescribe good lawes for eternall memory, yet where are they sooner broken then in the court of Tryan. Let Aurelius store his court with wise men, yet euen there they doe waxe dissolute.

A prince's court is like a pleasant garden, where the bee may gather honny, and the spyder sucke poyson ; for as it is a schoole of vertue to suche as can bridle their minds with discretion, so it is a nursery of vice to such as doe measure their willes with witlesse vanitie.

It hath beene holden for a maxime that a proud court doth make a poore countrey, and that there is not so hatefull a vermine to the common wealth as those that are surnamed *the Moathes of the court*, but courtiers will not bee easely dasht out of countenance, for it is a courtier's vertue to be confident in his owne conceipt, and he that is so resolute will blush at nothing.

But now to make an end of this suruey of vanity, let vs yet make one iourney more, and it shall bee to the church, and at that time when the preacher is in

the pulpit, and we shall there see such hypocrisie, such counterfeiting, such dissembling, and such mocking with God, that were it not but that as his wrath so often kindled against vs for our sinnes should not yet as often be quenched againe by his mercy, it coulde not bee but that the iustice of God would euen there ataynt us.

There you shall see him that in his life and conquer-sation (to the shewe of the world), when hee is out of the church, liueth as if he made doubt whether there were any God or no, yet he will there ioyne with the preacher in prayer, and will cry out, "O our Father which art in heauen."

"Hallowed be thy name," (sayth the common swearer), who with vnhallowed lyps doth euery day blasphem the name of God.

And he that reposeth his whole felicitie in the transitory pleasures of this world, that doth make his gold his God, and whose heauen in vpon this earth, will there beseech in prayer, "Lord, let thy kingdome come."

Another that doth repine at the ordinances of God, that will murmure and grudge at those visitations wherewith it pleaseth him sometimes to afflict vs, will yet make petition, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heauen."

There you shall see him to make intercession for his dayly bread, that will polute himselfe all the weeke after with his daily drinke.

But what a misery is this, that the contentious, the malicious, the wrathfull, and for him that doth seeke

reuenge for the least offence that is offered vnto him, somtimes by bloudie reuenge, sometimes by sutes of law, and at all times with great rigor and violence, and will yet crave by petition, *Lord, forgiue vs our trespasses, as we forgiue them that trespass against vs,* drawing therby their own damnation vpon their owne heades, when at the day of the generall sessions the great judge shall say vnto them, *Ex ore tuo, te judicabo;* depart from me, thou cursed creature, thy portion is amongst the hypocrites, for as faith without obedience is no faith, but the true marke of an hypocrite, so profession ioyned with malice is as certaine a note of hypocrisy.

There you shall see the extortioner, the adulterer, the blasphemer, vnder the colour of deuotion, so transforme themselues into a shew of sanctimony, that during the time of the sermon they doe seeme to bee Saynts, but being out of the church doore, a man would thinke them to bee Demy Deuils.

There you shall see the usurer, the briber, the broker, with their books laid open before them, turning ouer leaues as busily as if they were in their counting houses, casting vp of their debts, and calculating what summes were owing vnto them ; there you shall see the merchant, the shopkeeper, the tradesman, and such others as doe liue by trafique, by buying and by selling, lifting vp their eyes, heauing vp their hands, and making shew as if they were inflamed with a hot burning feuer of a fiery burning zeale.

But they doe vse religion as women doe vse their paynting stiffe, it serues but to couer their deformi-

ties ; they haue one conscience for the church, another for the market, and so they keepe a good one for Sundayes it makes no matter for all the weeke after.

Should I speake now of women, they doe make as great a show of deuotion as men, and although there be a number of them graue and godly matrones, zealous and well inclined marryed wiues, gratiouse and godly disposed damosels and yong maydens, that are no less vertuous, indeed, then they doe make shewe for, yet there bee a number of others that do rather frequent the church to see new fashions then to gather good instructions, and a number of them rather to be scene themselues then to seeke God.

Now what zeale is that zeale, that will neyther lette slippe a sermon, nor lette goe a new fashion ? this strange atiring of themselues, may well bring admiration to fooles, but it breeds laughter to the wise.

You shall see some women goe so attyred to the church, that I am ashamed to tell it out aloud, but harke in your eare, I will speake it softly, fitter in good fayth to furnish A. B. H. then to presse into the House of God, they are so be paynted, so be periwigd, so be poudered, so be perfumed, so be starched, so be laced, and so bee imbrodered, that I cannot tell what mentall vertues they may haue, that they do keepe inwardly to themselues, but I am sure to the outward show it is a hard matter in the church it selfe, to distinguish between a good woman and a bad.

Our behauaviours, our gestures, and our outward attyres are tongs to proclaime the inward disposition

of the mind: then away with this pretended zeale, let vs not make religion a cloake for Impietie.

If we wille seeke Christ, let vs seeke him so as we may finde him in the high way of humilitie, but not of pride and impudency.

I thinke amongst many women that are thus frequenting sermons, there be some that will catch at some pretty sounding words and let the matter slip, that they ought especially to attend, as the poore gentle-woman, that was so dismayed at the preachers wordes, who discoursing to his auditory of the generall day of judgement, how we should be then called to a stricte and straignt account, the poore gentle-woman being returned to her own house with this newes, beganne to fall into a sodaine fit of weeping, which being marked by some friends that were about her, they besought her to make knowne vnto them the cause of her griefe? her answere was that shee was now but come from a sermon, that had so troubled her in her thoughts, that shee could not refraine from sheding of teares. Those that heard her, thinking that shee had beene stricken with some godly remorse in remembrance of her former misled life, beganne to comfort her, telling her how God had mercy in store for all penitent sinners; and her teares so distilled, being an argument of her heartie repentance, there was no doubt in her but to hope of saluation.

Alas! (said shee), it is not the remembrance of my sins that doth thus perplexe me, but when I consider with my selfe, what a great assembly will then make

their appearance at the day of that generall sessions, which the preacher spake of, it maketh me to weepe to thinke howe ashamed I shalbe to stand starke naked before such a presence (as he saies) will be then in place.

See here the very height of a gentlewomans disquiet, what a scruple it was that thus incumbered her conscience, God grant there be not many others that doth make the like colections, and that will sometimes be disputing of the preachers wordes, which they be no lesse able to conceiue, then vnwilling to followe, there be many that will seeme to professe religion, as well men as women, and that with great zeale and ferenency; but they live not thereafter: euen those that by their outward show do thirst after knowledge, those that will turne ouer many leaues, and seeke out seuerall chapters, and when they hyt vpon some interpretation to nourish their sensualitie, they stay there and are the worse for their reading.

“ Sonne of manne, (sayth God to the prophet Ezechiell) my people sit before thee and they heare my wordes, but they will not doe them, their hearts goeth after couetousnesse.”

To speake against sinne, in this age, it is like the filling of Daneas Tubs, and eyther they thinke there is no God at all, or else they thinke him to be such a one, as it were as good there were none at all, for it is lesse dangerous for a man to commit sinne, then to repreoue sinne.

To reprehende drunckenesse, whordome, blasphemy,

or to speake against that prye that God will surely
punish, wee must not doe it; they will say wee are too
bitter, too byting, too satiricall, and thus we are more
afraid to offend vicious men, then we are desirous to
please God.'

But tell me now, thou beastly drunkard, thou vicious
adulterer, thou swearer and prophaner of Gods holy
name, which of you if you had a wife that had played the
strumpet if shee should come vnto thee with submissiue
words and shewes of repentance, and that vpon the
hope of her amendment, thou wouldest pardon what
was past, wouldest thou not thinke it much if thou hadst
forgiuen her once, that shee should afterwardes play
the harlot againe? but if thou hadst so much kindnesse
to remitte the second fault, if she should yet come the
third time with one of her Roaring boyes in her com-
pany, and should play the harlot before thine owne face,
(thou thy selfe standing present), and would yet with
smyling countenance and inticing shewes offer to come
and kisse thee, wouldest thou not desie her, wouldest
thou not spite at her, wouldest thou not spurne at her,
wouldest thou not abhorre her?

Then what doest thou thinke of thy God, (if I may
so tearme him to be thy God,) whom thou thy selfe
hast disavowed, and broken that contract which was
made between him and thee, when thou wert baptized,
that runnest euerie day from sinne to sinne, a whoring,
till perhaps on Sundaies and then thou goest to church
with a smiling countenance, to dissemble and flatter
with God, and wilt seeme to come and kisse him, nay

thou commest to mocke him, and to speak the truth to tempt him, for Sunday it selfe is scarce ouerpast, but thou returnest back againe to thine adultery, to thy drunkennesse, to thy blasphemie, to thy vsery, to thy brybery, to thy periurie, to thy pride, to thy vanitie, and to all the rest of thy former impieties. Dost thou not tremble now at the iudgements of God, dost thou not feare his vengeance sodainly to fall vpon thee?

Perhaps thou wilt thinke thy selfe to be in no danger, and wilt but iest at me, that would but put thee into some foolish feare. Well iest at it and spare not, but when Time hath done his office, thou shalt see what will come of iesting.

They were wont to say, the world did runne on wheeles ; and it may well bee it hath done so in times past, but I say now it goes on crouches, for it is waxen old, blind, decrepit and lame, a lymping world God knowes, and nothing but halting betweene neighbour and neighbour, betweene friend and friend, betweene brother and brother, and downe right halting, (sometimes) betweene the father and the childe, the son that will craue his fathers blessing in the morning will wish him dead before night that he might enioy his inheritance. And as the world is become thus lame and lymping, so it is otherwise growne so far out of reparations, that (I thinke) there is no hope of amendment, the best remedy were if euery man would mend one, and that will not bee performed in hast, for we imitate nothing but what we doe see, and whom doe we see setting vp that light, that might shine vnto vs, in

example; no the world is become feeble, her spirits are spent, shee is growne *Bis puer*, shee is become childish and begins to doat afresh on that shee sometimes scorned.

The possession of gold vnlawfully gotten was wont to be called a capitall offence, nowe there is nothing more desired.

In *diebus illis* they bent their whole indeuours to winne honourable reputation, but now for popular praise and vaine ostentation.

Our predecessors ordained lawes, whereby to restrayne the prodigall from spending their owne wealth in ryot and excesse, but nowe there is no expence so laudable as that which is spent in vanitie.

In former ages they thought him to be but a badde statesman, that had aspired to ouermuch wealth, but now there is nothing more despised then for a man to be poore and honest.

The olde fashion was to doe well, but nowe enough to speake well.

In the olde time to performe, but nowe enough to promise.

Men were wont to blush when they went to borrowe money, but now they are ashame to pay their debts.

Flatery hath beene accounted the profession of a knaue, but now it is better for a man to flatter too much then not to flatter at all.

The monuments of goodnes are so weather beaten, that iniquitie and antiquitie hath almost left no character therof vndefaced.

✓ If men should degenerate as fast the next age as they haue done but within the compasse of our owne memory, it will be a madde world to liue in.

Children must receiue by tradition what is left vnto them by example from their parents, they can goe no further then Imitation, and what was it but example that brought downe fire and brimstone vpon Sodome and Gomorah, when the abhominations of the elder were still imitated by the yonger ?

Children can neyther heare nor see, eyther at home or abroad, but that which is altogether eyther vaine or vnlawfull.

How is it possible that the daughter should bee bashfull where the mother is past shame, or that shee should bee continent where the mother is impudent ?

✓ The olde prouerbe is: *If the mother trot how should the daughter amble?* but there be some parents that doe thinke, the most speedie way of preferment is to bring vppe their daughters in audacious boldnesse, to make them impudent, and past shame

Cato depriued a Senator of Rome, but for kissing his wife in the presence of his daughter.

We doe not fashion our selues so much by reason as wee doe by example, for custome and example are arguments good enough to make vs to follow any fashion.

We are become like Labans sheepe, led by the eye; we conceiue but of what we do see, and the vulgare seeing nothing but apparances maketh iudgement onely by that which is subiect to the sight.

To bee vertuous, why it is a capitall crime; and there is nothing more dangerous then to be securely innocent.

Our auncients sought for the true effectes of vertue, and we onely but hunt after a vayne popular prayse.

How innumerable and (almost) ineuitable, traps, are set in the tract of vertue, and that in all her walks, perhaps we may hyt of some one now and then, that will kisse the vizard of vertue, but shewe them the true face, and you turne all their kisses into curses. There befew that doe vndertake the tract aright. No, our whole studie is how wee may liue in pompe, in pride, in pleasure; but we haue no care at all, neither how to liue, nor how to die well.

Wee doe seeke rather how to couer faults, then howe to mend faults; yea the most sharpest and quickest witted men those, that bee called the wise-men of the world, what bee their policies, or whereunto do they apply their wits, but to couer their naughtinesse.

If they haue a litle good amongst a great deale of ill, they thinke that good to be vtterly lost, that hath not the eyes of the world to witnesse it and to giue it an applause; so that if they doe any good, it is but to the end to bee seene and to be praysed by men, for in secret they will doe nothing.

If they forbeare to doe euill, it is for feare the world should knowe it; and were that feare taken away, they would sticke at nothing.

I thinke there is not a more pernicious creature in the world then is a man, if hee bee both wise and wicked; for where the wit is bribed by affection, there

the weapons of reason are many times wrested, and sometimes managed against reason it selfe; neyther is there any thing that maketh vs to be more vnreasonable then that which we call naturall reason.

The wisedome of the flesh, (that is indued with knowledge) hath often times more indangered then the feeble force of simple ignorance.

A wicked man indued with literature is the worst of all men, and amongst Christians, none more pernicious then the Holy hypocrite.

Origine hath left vnto vs this caueat for our instruction. *The hereticke, (sayth he), that is of good life, is much more hurtfull, and hath more authoritie in his words then he that doth discredite his doctrine with the lewdnes of his life;* so that we may conclude those vices to be most abhominable, that are most desirous to looke like vertues. Now it were a hard matter for me to distinguish betweene men who were good, and who were bad; but if I might giue my verdict to say who were the wisest men nowe in this age, I would say they were Taylers. Would you heare my reason, because I doe see the wisedome of women to be still ouer-reached by Taylers, that can euery day induce them to as many new fangled fashions as they please to inuent, and the wisedome of men againe are as much ouer-reached by women that canne intice their husbandes to surrender, and giue way to all their newe fangled follies. They are Taylers then that canne ouer-rule the wisest women, and they be women, that can besot the wisest men; so that if Ma. Maiors conclusion

be good, that because Jacke his yongest sonne ouer-ruled his mother, and Jackes mother agayne ouerruled **M. Maior** himselfe, and **M. Maior** by office ouerruled the towne, *ergo* the whole towne was ouerruled by Jacke **Ma. Maiors** sonne. By the same consequence, I may likewise conclude that Taylers are the wisest men; the reason is alreadie rendered, they doe make vs all fooles, both men and women, and doe mocke the whole world with their newe inuentions. But are they women alone, that are thus seduced by Taylers? doe but looke amongst our gallants in this age, and tell me if you shall not finde men amongst them to be as vaine, as nice, and as gaudie in their attyres, as shee that amongst women is accounted the most foolish. ✓

And howe manie are there that if they doe thinke themselues to be but a little out of the *Tayler's discipline*, they will beginne to grow as melancholy and to looke as drouisly as the poore amorist that is but newly stricken to the heart with the coy aspect of dame Folly, his dearest beloued (and scarce honest) mistris.

Wee are forbidden by the scriptures to call our brother foole, this is it that makes mee something to forbeare; yet when I chance to mee with such a newe fangled fellowe, though I say nothing to him, yet God knowes what I thinke.

The holy scriptures haue denounced a curse no lesse grieuous to the Idle-maker, then to the Idle it selfe; now, (vnder the correction of diuinitie), I would but demaund what are these puppet-making Taylers that are euery day inuenting of newe fashions? and what

are these that they doe call Attyre-makers? the first inuenters of these monstrous periwygs? and the finders out of many other like immodest attyres? what are these and all the rest of these fashion mongers? the inuenters of vanities that are euery day whetting their wits to finde out those gaudes that are not onely offensiuе vnto God, but many wayes preiudicall to the whole common wealth; if you will not acknowledge these to be idolemakers, yet you cannot deny them to be the deuils enginers, vngodly instruments to decke and ornifie such men and women as may well be reputed to be but Idolles; for they haue eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their owne saluation; and they haue eares, but they cannot heare the judgements of God, denounced against them for their pride and vanitie.

These enginers of mischiefe, that like moles doe lye and wrot in sinne, till they haue cast vppe a mount of hatefull enormitie against heauen, they may well be called the souldiers of the deuill, that will fight against the mightie hand of God.

There are certaine new inuented professions, that within these fourtie or fiftie yeares were not so much as heard of, that are now growne into that generalitie, and are hadde in such request, that if they doe flourish still but as they haue begunne, I thinke within these very fewe yeares, the worthy cittizens of London must bee enforced to make choyse of their Aldermen from amongst these new vpstart companies, which in the meane time doe robbe the realme of great summes of money that are daily spent vpon their vanities.

As these Attyre-makers that within these forty yeares were not knowne by that name, and but nowe very lately they kept their lowzie commoditie of periwygs, and their other monstrous attyres, closed in boxes, they might not be seene in open show, and those women that did vse to weare them would not buy them but in secret.

But now they are not ashamed to sette them forth vpon their stalle, such monstrous May-powles of hayre, so proportioned and deformed, that but within these twenty or thirtie yeares would haue drawne the passers by to stand and gaze, and to wonder at them.

And howe are Coach-makers and Coach-men increased, that fiftie yeares agoe were but fewe in number, but nowe a Coach-man and a Foot-boy is enough, and more then every knight is able to keepe.

Then haue we those that be called Body-makers, that doe swarne through all the parts both of London, and about London, that are better customed, and more sought vnto then he that is the Soule maker.

And how many items are brought in for the bodie's wantonnesse, but not so much as a memorandum for the soule's blissednesse.

The bodie is still pampered vppe in pompe, in pride, and in the very dropsie of excesse, whilst the soule remayneth poor, naked, and needy, and the soule that giueth a feeling to the bodie doth not yet feele her owne euill, nor neuer remembreth her owne miserie but in the euill which shee there endureth.

But he that some fortie or fifty yeares sithens should haue asked after a Pickadilly, I wonder who could

haue vnderstood him, or could haue told what a Pick-adilly had beene, either fish or flesh.³

But amongst the trades that are newly taken vp, this trade of Tobacco doth exceede, and the money that is spent in smoake is vnknowne, and, (I thinke), vnthought on, and of such a smoake as is more vaine then the smoake of fayre words, for that, (they say), will serue to feede fooles, but this smoake maketh fooles of wise men ; mee thinkes experience were enough to teach the most simple witted, that before tobacco was euer knowne in England, that we liued in as perfect health, and as free from sicknesse as we haue done sithens, and looke vppon those, (whereof there are a number at this present houre), that did neuer take tobacco in their liues, and if they doe not liue as healthsome in bodie, and as free from all manner of diseases as those that doe take it fastest. They say it is good for a cold, for a pose, for rewms, for aches, for dropsies, and for all manner of diseases, proceeding of moyst humours ; but I cannot see but that those that doe take it fastest are asmuch, (or more), subiect to all these infirmities, (yea, and to the poxe it selfe), as those that haue nothing at all to doe with it. Then what a wonderfull expence might very well bee spared, that is spent and consumed in this needlesse vanitie.

There is not so base a gromme that commes into an Ale-house to call for his pot, but he must haue his *pipe* of Tobacco ; for it is a commoditie that is now as vendible in every tauerne, inne, and ale-house, as eyther wine, ale, or beare ; and for apothicaries' shops, grosers' shops, chaundlers' shops, they are (almost) neuer with-

out company, that from morning till night are still taking of tobacco. What a number are there besides that doe keepe houses, set open shoppes, that haue no other trade to liue by but by the selling of tobacco.

I haue heard it tolde that now very lately there hath bin a cathalogue taken of all those new erected houses that haue set vppe that trade of selling tobacco in London, ande neare about London, and if a man may beleue what is confidently reported, there are found to be vpward of 7000 houses that doth liue by that trade.

I can not say whether they number apothicaries' shoppes, grosers' shops, and chaundlers' shops in this computation, but let it be that these were thrust in to make uppe the number; let vs now looke a little into the *vidimus* of the matter, and let vs cast vppe but a sleight account what the expence might be that is consumed in this smoakie vapoure.

If it be true that there be 7000 shops in and about London, that doth vent tobacco, as it is credibly reported that there be ouer and aboue that number,⁴ it may well bee supposed to be but an ill customed shoppe that taketh not fife shillings a day, one day with another, throughout the whole year, or if one doth take lesse, two other may take more; but let vs make our account but after two shillings sixe-pence a day, for he that taketh lesse then that would be ill able to pay his rent, or to keepe open his shop windowes, neither would tobacco houses make such a muster as they doe, and that almost in euery lane, and in euery by-corner round about London.

Let vs then reckon thus : 7000 half crownes a day amounteth iust to three hundred ninetine thousand, three hundred seuentie-fve poundes a yeare, *summa totalis.* All spent in smoake.

I doe not reckon now what is spent in tauernes, in innes, in ale-houses, nor what gentlemen doe spend in their owne houses and chambers, it would amount to a great reckoning, but if I could deliuer truly what is spent throughout the whole realme of Englande in that idle vanitie, I thinke it would make a number of good people, (that haue anie feare of God in them), to lament that such a masse of treasure should be so basely consumed that might be employed to many better purposes.

I haue hitherto perused the vayne and idle expences that are consumed in tobacco, now by your fauours, a little to recreate your wearyed spirits, I will acquaint you with a short Dialogue that was sometime discoursed betweene a scholler and a shoe-maker, which happened thus.

A scholler, (and a maister of artes),⁵ that vpon some occasions being here in London, driuen into want, hytting vpon a shooemaker, beganne to make his mone, and told him that he was a maister of the seauen Sciences that was in some distresse, and besought him to bestow some small courtesie on him for his relief.

The shoe-maker having ouer heard him, first wyping his lippes with the backe of his hande, answered him thus : are you a maister of seauen Sciences and goe vppe and downe a beggning ? I will tell you my friende, I haue but one Science, and that consistes but in

making of shoes, but with that one Science I doe liue, and with it I doe keepe my selfe, my wife, and my family, and you with your seauen Sciences to bee in want, I cannot beleuee ye.

Sir (said the scholler), I tell you a true tale, the more is my griefe. I am a scholler, and I haue proceeded maister in the seauen Liberall Sciences, and yet, (as my fortune hath conducted me,) I am dryuen into distresse, and would bee glad but of a poore reliefe.

Aha (quoth the shoe-maker), nowe I vnderstand yee, you are a maister of the seauen liberal Sciences. I haue heard of those same liberal Sciences before, but I perceiue they are not halfe so bountifull to the purse, as they bee liberal in name. Well, I am sory for ye, but I haue no money to bestowe ; yet if good counsell would serue your turne, I coulde sette you downe a course how you might liue, you should not neede to begge.

Sir, (sayd the scholler) good counsell commes neuer out of season to a man that is wise ; I will giue you thankes for any aduise you will giue me that is good.

Then (quoth the shoe-maker,) you shall let alone those same seauen Sciences, that you name to be so liberal, and you shall enter you selfe into any one of the three companyes, that haue nowe better taking, and are growne to be more gainefull, then all the seauen Sciences that you haue hitherto learned, and put them all together.

And what be those three companies (sayde the scholler) that you so much commend?

They are three companies, (sayde the shoe-maker) that are now in most request, and haue gotten all the trade into their owne handes, the first is to keepe an Ale house, the second a Tobacco house, and the third to keepe a Brothell house.

I haue done with my dialogue, and I thinke of my conscience the shoe-maker aymed something neare the marke; for he that did but see the abundance of Ale-houses that are in euery corner, I thinke he would wonder howe they coulde one liue by another; but if he did beholde againe, how they are all replenished with drunkardes, euery houre in the daie, (and almost euery minute in the night), and did yet agayne see their beastly demeanures, heare their blasphemies and their vngodly words, their swearing, and their ribauldrie, would tremble for feare least the house should sinke. For Tobacco houses and Brothell houses, (I thanke God for it) I doe not vse to frequent them, but actiue mindes must haue exercise, and I thinke to auoyd the inconuenience of a Brothell house, it were better of the twayne to sitte in a Tobacco house.

It hath beene a great faction that in former ages would still vndertake to support bawdery, and they haue bin better men then justices of peace that would both countenance a curtizan, and boulster out a bawd.

These poore harlots haue sometimes bin brought to ride in a cart, when the silken strumpets (perhaps) haue ryden in coaches; but there are no harlots nowe a dayes, but those that are poore, for shee that hath any freindes at all to take her part, who dares call her harlot?

Some good mans liuery the countenance of office,
the bribing of a constable, or any thing will serue;
and shee that hath not twenty companions at a becke,
that will stick to her at a dead lift, let her ride in a
cart, in the deuils name; shee deserues no better.

Should I now speake of spirituall whordome which
the scriptures doe call idolatry, I dare scarce speake
against it, for offending of papists, that were neuer
more dangerous then they be at this houre.

I remember that many yeares sithens I sawe a fewe
printed lines intituled *The Blazon of a Papist*, written
by some Herault of armes, that had pretily contriued
a papist in the compasse of armory.

Hee first made description of a *Papist rampant*, a
furious beast, and although it be written that the deuill
goeth about like a roaring lyon, yet the deuill himselfe
is not more fierce and rigorous then is a papist, where
he is of force and abilitie to shew his tyrranny, witnesse
the murthers, the massacres, the slaughters, the poy-
soning, the stabbing, the burning, the broyling, the
torturing, the tormenting, the persecuting, with their
other bloudie executions euery day fresh in example,
infinite to be told, and horrible to be remembred.

The next is a *Papist passant*, this is an instrument
of sedition, of insurrection, of treason, of rebellion, a
priest, a jesuite, a seminary, and such other as doe finde
so many friendes in England and in Ireland, both to
receiue and harbour them as it is much to bee feared
wee shall finde the smart of it in time to come. We
haue then a *Papist volant*, I thinke amongst the rest,

these can doe least harme, yet they will say they fie for their consciences; when it is knowne well enough they doe both practice and conspire.

Then there is a *Papist Regardant*, he obserueth times, occasions, places and persons, and although he be one of the *Popes intelygencers*. yet he walketh with such circumspection and heede, that hee is not knowne but to his owne faction.

We are now come to a *Papist Dormant*, a slye companion, subtil as a foxe; he sleepes with open eyes, yet sometimes seeming to winke, he lookes and prys into opportunities, still feeding himselfe with those hopes, that I am in hope shall neuer doe him good.

There is yet againe a *Papist Couchant*, this is a dangerous fellow and much to be feared; he creepes into the bosome of the state, and will not sticke to looke into the Court, nay (if he can) into Court counsels, he will shewe himselfe tractable to common wealths, prescriptions, and with this shew of obedience to law, he doth the pope more seruice then twentie others that are more resisting.

The last we shall speake of is the *Papist Pendant*; indeede a Papist Pendant is in his prime perfection; a Papist Pendant is so fitting a peece of armory for the time present, as all the heraldes in Englande are not able better to display him; a papist is then in chiefe when hee is pendant, and hee neuer commes to so high preferment but by the popes especiall blessing.

But if lawes were as well executed as they be enacted, popery could not so spread it selfe as it doth,

neyther in England nor in Irelande, nor it could not bee but that these diuelish practises, of poysons, of pistoles, of stabbing kniues, and of gunnepouder traynes, would bee important motiues to stir vppe the considerations of those that be in authority to spy out these masked creatures that haue tongs for their Prince, but doe reserue their hearts for their Pope.

But, alas, good Vertue, art thou becomme so faint hearted that thou wilt not discouer thy selfe that art thus iniured? I wis thou hadst neuer more need to look about thee; I would I could wish thee for a time to put away Patience, and to becomme a little while Cholerick, if not for their sakes that do loue thee, yet for thine owne security. If Vice dare take boldnesse to offend, why should not Vertue take courage to correct? but I know it is but losse of tyme to speake against Popery, and as little it will preuaile to speake against any manner of sinne; yet we want no positiuie Lawes whereby to bridle abuse, but the example of a good life in those that should minister the due execu-
tion of those Lawes would bee more effectuall then the Lawes themselues, because the actions of those that be placed in authoritie are receiued by the common peo-
ple for precepts and instructions.

But the greatest number of them doe rather shewe their authorities in correcting of other mens faults then in mending their owne, and it is hard when hee that cannot order his owne life should yet bee made a minister to correct the misdemeanours of others. There can neuer bee good discipline amongst inferiours where

there is but bad example in superiours; but where superiours haue beeene more ready to support sinne then to punish sinne, and when a Nobleman's liuery was countenance good enough to keepe a Drunkard from the Stockes, an Adulterer from the cart, and sometimes a Theefe from the Gallowes; when knowne Strumpets could vaunt themselves to be supported and vpholden by great persons, and to receiue such countenance from them, that it was holden for a **Maxime** amongst a great number of young wantons, that to surrender themselues to the lust of such men as were in great place and authoritie, was the next way to get preferment, and to winne them many friendes.

This was it that made a number of yong women, (in those times), to shake off the vayles of shamefastnes, and to offer the vse of their intemperate bodies to common prostitution, though not verbally in wordes, yet vnder the showes of their gaudie and gadish attiers.

I am not yet ignorant but that in these dayes there bee a number of women, that in respect of any abuse of their bodies, are both good and honest, and yet if wee should judge of them but according to their outwarde shewes they doe seeme more Curtizan like then euer was *Lais of Corinth*, or *Flora of Rome*.

The ancient *Romanes* prohibited all sortes of people, as well men as women, from wearing of any light coloured silkes, or any other gaudie garmentes, *Players* and *Harlotes* onely excepted; for to them there was tolleration in regard of their professions.

There is mention made of a Canon in the *Ciuill Lawe* where it was ordayned, that if a man did offer violence to any woman, were shee neuer so vertuous and honest, yet attyred like a Strumpet, shee hadde no remedie agaynst him by Law.

And we doe finde it testified of a great *Lady* who vpon some occasion of busines, casting ouer her a light coloured vayle, and being thus met withall by a young gallant, he beganne to court her with complements of loue, the which the *Lady* taking in great disdaine, reprouced his sauciness that would offer that disgrace to her that was honest, that shee was not as shee seemed to be to the outward shewe; the young gallant, as angry as shee, returned her this answere.

Be what you list to be, (sayd he), I know not what you be, but if your honestie bee such as you say, be so attyred then, or els be as you are attyred. Vertue is neuer decked vp with externall pompe to procure respect; her very countenance is full of maiestie, that commaundeth admiration in all that doe behold her.

It hath beene questioned whether *Chastitie* ioyned with *Vanitie* doth merite any commendation or no, but that a proud and a gaudie garment should shroud an humble or a modest mind it is *Rara Auis in Terris*, a matter seldome seene; but this is out of doubt that this ouermuch affected *Folly*, doth liue with no lesse suspected *Honestie*.

She is but an ill huswife, therefore, of her owne credite, that will bring it into construction.

The Philosophers would ayme at the inner disposi-

tion of the minde, by the external signes of the bodie, affirming that the motions of the body are the true voyces of the mind.

✓ Augustus, on a time of great assembly, obserued with diligence what company they were that courted his two daughters, *Liua* and *Julia*; who perceiuing the first to bee frequented with graue and wise *Senatores*, and the other againe to be solicited with witlesse and wanton *Roysters*, he discouered thereby their seuerall dispositions, being not ignorant that custome and company doth, for the most part, sympathize together, according to the prouerbe, *Simile Simili gaudet*, like will to like, quoth the Deuill to the *Collier*.

A womans blush is a signe of grace, and a good woman will quickly blush at many thinges; nay it were enough to make a vertuous woman to blush, but to thinke with her selfe that shee could not blush.

The blush of a womans face is an approbation of a chast and honest mind, and a manifest signe that shee doth not approue any intemperate actions, or any other wanton speeches or demeanors that are eyther offered to her selfe, or to any other in her presence.

The woman that forgetteth to blush, it is an argument that shee is past grace; for shamefastnesse is not onely a brydle to sinne, but it is likewise the common treasury of feminine *Vertue*.

The bold audacious woman cannot but be taxed of *Impudency*, it is one of the notes that *Salomon* giueth whereby to distinguish a good woman from a bad.

The beautie of behauour is more precious in esti-

mation then the beautie of the bodie, and the woman that will maintaine her credite, must not be too conuersant, but the time rather serueth to looke *Babyes* in womens *Eyes*, then to picke out *Moates*.

Yet I am sory for some of them that, (I thinke), will care little for going to *Heauen*, because there is no good *Coachway*.

Licurgus ordayned the *Laconian* women the exercise of their limmes, as running, leaping, wrastling, heauing, and throwing of waights.

These exercises hee permitted whereby to increase their vigor and strength, that their propagation and offspring might be the more strong and sturdie.

But now our women are trained vp in Idlenesse, in ignorance, in pride, in delicacy, and their issue (for the most part), are leaning to their mother's constitutions, feeble of bodie, weake in minde, effeminate, and fearefull, fitter to ryde in a *Curtizan's Coach* vp and downe the streets, then to bestride a stirring Horse in the Fielde ; and doe better knowe howe to mannage a *Tobacco-pipe*, then howe to charge a *Pyke* or a *Lance*.

The *Laconian* women brought foorth a propagation of men of haughty courage, able both in bodie and minde to serue their countrey, to defend and fight for their liberties ; but our women in these times, they bring a generation of *Meacockes* that doe bend their whole endeouours to effeminate nicitie, to pride, and vanitie.

Cato, being Censurer, to make choise of Generall for the *Panonian* warres, openly disgraced and dismissed

Publius, because he had seene him to walke the streets of Rome perfumed; but now our gallants doe thinke themselves nothing more disgraced if they be not so perfumed, be spiced, and be poudered, that a man may well vent them the breadth of a streete.

And from whence commeth this wearing and this imbrodering of long lockes, this curiositie that is vsed amongst men in freziling and curling of their hayre? this gentlewoman-like starcht bands, so be edged, and be laced, fitter for *Mayd Marion* in a *Moris dance*, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage that should be in a gentleman?

But amongst all the rest of these ill becomming follies that are now newly taken vppe, (me thinkes), these yellow starcht bandes⁶ shoulde bee euer best suited with a yellowe *Coate*.

I haue heard of a Gentle-man that protested himselfe to bee so fierce and furious, if hee were but a little displeased, that during the time whilst his anger did last he neuer durst looke in a glasse for feare he should affraight himselfe with the terroure of his owne lookes.

And are not our gentlemen in as dangerous a plight now, (I meane these *Apes of Fancy*), that doe looke so like *Attire-makers maydes*, that for the dainty decking vp of themselves might sit in any Seamsters shop in all the *Exchange*?⁷

Me thinkes a looking glasse should be a dangerous thing for one of them to view himselfe in, for falling in loue with his owne lookes, as *Narcissus* did with his owne shadow.

I am yet perswaded that our women in this age are as really endued with *Nature's* abilities as they haue beene in times past, but they doe faile in that education that they had in times past; they doe now, (for the most part of them), see nothing but vanitie, neyther doe I thinke but that the same defect is it that so infeebleth their of-spring.

But I cannot altogether blame the carelesnes of the world, that it is become so sparing of good endeuours, when there is neyther rewarde nor recompence for good desert, nor scarce so much as a *Memorandum* for the most honourable enterprise, how worthily so euer performed.

We doe read of forraine estates, euen at this present time, what care they haue in rewarding the good, and punishing the ill, and in these two poynts, that is as I haue sayd in rewarding and punishing, consisteth so high a policie of good government, that it may well bee sayd that the Turkes, the Persians, the Tartarians and many other barbarous infidels haue built the foundation of their estates, especially vpon that ground worke, and haue aduanced themselues to that greatnesse that they be now growne vnto onely by these two vertues, in rewarding the good and punishing the ill.

For whom reward they but *Captaines* and *Souldiers*; or where vse they liberalitie, but in the field amongst weapons?

How seuere againe are they in punishing of those, that do beare themselues carelessly in their places and offices, committed vnto them, yea they keepe no

meane in disgracing base cowardly mindes, nor in honouring of haughty spirits and valiant souldiers.

But with vs our Parasites, our Panders, our Fauourets, our Fidelers, our Fooles, our instruments of ambition, our ministers of our wanton pleasures shall be rewarded, but wee neuer cherish wisedome, till wee have cause to vse her counsell, and then (perhaps) shee may bee rewarded with some *Court holy water wordes*, and which wee will bestowe but for our owne aduantage; and when our turne is serued our kindnes is estranged.

The world is not now the world that it hath beene, when the sauing of a Romane Citizen, was rewarded with honor: the humoure of preseruing our country is now spent; there is not a *Curtius* now to be found, and where should we seeke for another *Sceuula*?

Desert may now goe to Cart, and he that cannot ruffell it out in silkes, will hardly gette passage in at a great mans gate.

Hee that is thought to bee poore, is neuer thought to bee wise, nor fit to haue the managing of any matter of importance; all is well accepted that is spoken by authoritie, but truth it selfe is not beleeued, if it proceede from the mouth of pouertie.

By this contempte of pouertie, vice hath beene aduanced; and sithens riches haue thus crept into credite, the world is rather growne to giue way to the humour of a rich *Foole*, then to followe the direction of a poore wise man.

Let vs nowe a little looke into the actions of this

age, and speake truly when was *Vertue* and *Honestie* more despised ; when was pride, ryot, and excesse, more inordinate ; when was adultery and all other vnchast liuing either more apparant, or lesse punished ; when were all manner of abhominations more tollerated, when those that should minister correction will sometimes fauour their owne vices in others, euery man accounting that to bee most excellent in fashion that is most taken vppe and envied by those that be most vicious.

Thou shalt not follow the multitude to doe euill, the commandement of the liuing God, *Exod.* 23 : but for these Adulterers, these Drunkards, these Swearers, these Blasphemers, they haue made a sacrifice of their owne soules to the deuill, and haue cast of all care both of honour and honestie.

But to leaue the generall, and come to the particular, I tell thee, thou Adulterer, I speake it to thy face, that besides the poxe, and many other loathsome diseases that are incident to whore-maisters whilst they liue in this world, thy hot burning fire of lust will bring thee to the hot burning fire of hell.

And I tell thee Diues, that pamperest thy selfe in excesse, whilst Lazarus lyeth crying out at thy gate readie to famish, Lazarus shall be comforted when thou shalt intreat but for one drop of cold water to coole thy tongue.

And thou beastly Drunkard, thou monster of nature, that amongst all other sinners art the most base and seruile, if a drunkard were as seldome to be seene as

the bird of Arabia, he would be more wondered at then the owle, and more loathed then the swine.

How many Crafts men, that will laboure all the weeke for that which on Sun-day they will spend in an ale-house, that will there most beastly consume in drinke, that would relieue their poore wiues and chil-
dren at home, that other whiles doe want wherewith to buy them bread.

But if drunkennesse were not so common as it is, a number of tauernes and ale-house keepers might shutte uppe their doores; but the custome of it doth make it so conuersant, that it taketh away the sence of sinne.

The generallitie of it I shall not neede to expresse, when there is no feasting, no banqueting, nor almost anie merrie meeting, but drunkennesse must bee a principall guest, and what a glory is it after the in-
counter of their cups, for one drunkard to see another carried away vpon mens shoulders to the beds.

The fruits of drunkennesse haue beene very well knowne, since Lot committed incest with his owne daughters, since Alexander kild his Clitus, and since Lucius Pius obtained that victory against his enemies, by making of them drunke, that hee coulde neuer attayne vnto so long as they were sober.

When the fume of the drinke once beginnes to as-
cend to the braine, the mind is oppressed with idle thoughts which spurreth on the tongue to contentious quarrelling, to slandering, backbiting, to idle and beastly talking, to swearing and blaspheming, and in the ende to stabbing and murthering.

I neuer yet knewe a Drunkard to be fitte for any good or godly exercise, and Cæsar was wont to say that hee stooode more in doubt of Brutus and Cassius that were noted to bee sober, then he did of drunken Marcus Antonius.

Let him be of what title he list, if he be a Drunkarde, doe but strippe him out of his gay cloathes, and scrape his name out of the Heralds booke, and he is without eyther euidence or preheminence of the basest rascall that ever was drunke in an ale-house.

Now I tell thee againe, thou Swearer and Blasphemer, that the heauie curse of God is still depending ouer thy head, thou that vpon every light occasion dost pollute the name of God, that is to bee reuerenced and feared, and doest sette that tongue which by the right of creation shoulde bee the *trumpet* to sound forth his *glory*, thou doest make it the instrument to prophan and blasphem his holy name.

How many blasphemous wretches are there in these daies that do make oathes their pastime, and will sweare vpon pleasure, and he that hath not for euery word an oath, and can sweare voluntarily without any cause, is holden to be but of weak spirit, a signe of want of courage, and he that should reprove him in his blasphemies, they say hee is a *puritan*, a precise *foole*, not fitte to hold a gentleman company. Their greatest glory and the way to shewe themselues generous, is to sette their tongues against *heauen*, and to abuse that name, at the which they should tremble and quake with feare.

In the commandements of the first *table* God him-

selfe is the obiect, for they immediately appertayne vnto him, and therfore he that taketh his name in vaine, (I thinke) displeaseth God as much, or more, as he that against the commaundement of the second *table* committeth murther, and therfore those positive lawes that doe soe seuerely punish the actuall breaches of the second *table*, without any respect to the sinnes that are committed against the first, were rather sette downe by the policies of men, then by the rule of the written word of God.

He that should but touch a man in credite, (if he be a man of any sort or calling) that should impeach his reputation, or slander his good name, there wanteth no good lawes to vexe and molest him, and to inflict those punishments vpon him that they will make him to cry *peccavi*; but hee that should deprave God in his maiestie, that shall deprive him of his glory or blaspheme his holy name, there is no maner of lawe whereby to correct him, there is not so much as a *write of Scandalum Magnatum* to be granted against him.

A common *swearer* hath no excuse to pleade in his owne defence, but doth shew himselfe to be a bond-slaue to the deuill, and a fire brand of hell.

God himselfe hath pronounced against him; *The Lord will not holde him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine*; and the vision of the flying booke seene by *Zacharias*, that was twelue cubits in length and tenne in breadth, doth witnesse that the curses are many that are written, and doe hang in record against *swearers*.

I think *bribery* is no sinne at all ; or if it be, it is but veniall, a light offence, a matter of no reckoning to account on.

It is like the disease *Morbus Gallicus*, which in poore men we vse plaine dealing and call it the *poxe*, but in great personages, a little to gilde ouer the loathsome-
nesse, wee must call it the *gout* or the *Sciatica*, so that which amongst inferiors we call a *bribe*, in superiors it is called a *gift*, a *present*, a *gratification*.

If a lawyer for a fee of tenne shillinges doe sometymes take tenne poundes, it is a *curtesie*, a *beneuolence* ; but these curtesies and kindnesses are bestowed with as much good will as the true man when he giueth his purse to the *theefe*.

Yet he that hath iudgement to giue a *bribe* with discretion, may worke wonders ; he may run throughg-
stitch with any businesse.

Jacob by sending of presents may appease the anger of *Esau*.

Claudius by giuing of *bribes* may escape correction, though he commit *sacriledge* in the Temple of *Minerua*.

Thou shalt take no gifts, for the gift bindeth the wise, and peruerteth the words of the righteous. *Exod. 23.*

But to make an end of this text, I will but adde thus much, that the giuing and taking of *bribes*, and the buying and selling of offices, are two such plague sores to a common wealth where they be suffered, that they are no lesse hurtfull to the *prince*, then preiudiciale to the poore subiect.

Should I speake nowe of *Couetousnesse*, of *Vsury*, and of *Pride*.

Couetousnesse is a sin that euermore hath beene hated, and Vsury is a sinne that the world hath still detested.

But the pride of these times, (if it were well considered) is much more odious in the sight of God, and many wayes more pernicious to the common wealth then both those other of Couetousnesse and Vsury, that are (and haue euer bin) accounted so loathsome.

Couetousnesse (I confesse) is the Curre that thinketh nothing to be vnlawfull that bringeth in gaine, it is the canker that eateth and deuoureth the gettings of the poore.

It is the *Viper* that spareth neyther friend nor foe, vertuous nor vicious, but where there is golde to be gotten, it teareth the very intrailes of whom soeuer.

He yeeldeth yet a reason for his scraping and pleades the feare of want, alledging that his greedie heaping and gathering together, to be but a Christian-like care, that euerie man should haue to prouide for his family.

Simonides being demanded why he beganne to growe so miserable in his latter yeares, to fall a hurding vp of riches when he was readie for the graue, to acquit himself of a couetous disposition, answered because (sayd hee) I had rather haue goods to leaue to mine enemies when I am dead, then to stande in neede of my friends whilst I am aliue.

Thus wee may see there is not a vice so odible, but they haue skill to maske it with the visard of vertue.

And the Vsurer, on the other side, he pleades not guiltie; nay he will hardly be perswaded that vsury is

any sinne at all, or if it be a sinne, it is such a sin, as it lies in its owne will and disposition, what manner of sin hee himselfe will make of it, whether a little sinne or a great sin, or a sinne of any assize, that he himselfe doth list to forme or fashion it.

Nowe the Vsurer doth acknowledge that the scriptures doe prohibite the taking of vsury, and (sayth hee) so God himselfe hath commanded; *Thou shalt not steale.*

Now for a rich man to be a *theefe*, euery man can say hee deserues to be hanged; but for a poore man that is ready to famish, and in his necessitie hee stealeth a loafe of bread to sauе his life, here is now a theft committed, and a direct breach of Gods commandement yet to be comiserated.

From hence they would inferre a tolleration in some persons, namely to men that be aged, to widdowes, and to orphanes, and there be some that publiquely in writing haue maintained a tolleration to be had in these, and do thinke it a matter drawing nearer charitie for these to make profite of their money, rather then to waste or spend awaie the stocke.

Here is yet a second collection that is gathered by the Vsurer; yet, (sayth he,) if a man be driuen into that necessitie that he is inforced to steale, (though it be but a loafe of bread for his relief), yet the theft is to be accounted so much the more, or so much the lesse, in respect of the person from whom it is committed; for in suche a case, to steale from him that is rich, the robbery is nothing so

intollerable in the eies of the world as for him that is poore to steale from another no lesse poore then himselfe ; therefore, (sayth the Vsurer), we may take vse of him that is rich, so we haue a conscience to him that is poore ; and to fortifie his conceit he alledgedeth certaine places of Scripture, *If thou lend money to my people, that is to the poore, Thou shalt take no Vsuray, Exod. 22.*

Here is nowe no prohibition, but that we may take vse of those that be rich, it is but the poore that are only excepted.

And wee are yet agayne forbidden that we shoulde take no Vsuray, but it is *of thy brother that is falne in decay.* Leui. 25.

When the *Deuill* came to tempt our Sauiour Christ, hee beganne with *Scriptum est*, and the Vsurer, to salue vp that sinne that all ages hath detested, all places haue denounced, and all good men haue euer abhorred, haue learnt of the *Deuill* to alledge the holy Scriptures.

But Vsuray is forbidden by God's owne mouth, and therefore sinne ; neyther is that relief to be found in it that many do expect, for wher it maketh show to giue, there it taketh, and where it pretendeth to succour, there, againe, it doth oppresse.

And, therefore, hee that seeketh to assist himselfe by the helpe of the Vsurer, is like the poore *Sheepe* that seeketh in a storm to shrowde himselfe vnder a *Bramble* where hee is sure to leave some of his *Wool* behind him.

There hath beene question made of Vsury, what it is: for some woulde haue it to consist onely in the letting out of money, according to the letter as it is written, *Thou shalt not give to Vsury to thy Brother. Deut. 23.*

Other some doe thinke him to be as great an Vsurer that taketh excessiue gaines in any thing, as the other that taketh vse for his money.

He would vphold his reason thus: if a poore man that is driuen into distresse should come to borrowe the summe of twentie shillings of a monyed man vpon a garment, (or some other pawn), that not long before had cost him fortie, promising within one moneth or two not onely to redeeme his pawn, but also to giue him reasonable vse for the loane of his money.

He is answered, that to lend money vpon Vsury is against the rule of Gods word, and, therefore, (to auoyde that sinne), if he will sell his garment out right hee will buy it, (if twentie shillings be his price), but other money he will not lend, nor a greater summe he will not giue.

The poore man, inforced by necessitie, is dryuen to take that twentie shillings, and to forgoe his garment, which he had beene better to haue pawned to an Vsurer, though hee had payd him after sixe-pence or eyght-pence, yea, or after twelue-pence a moneth, if it hadde beene for a whole yeare together.

There bee some that will in no wise acknowledge this to be Vsury; but let them distinguish howe they list, if I should giue my censure, I would say it were flat *Knauery.*

Euery man can call him an Vsurer that setteth out his money ; but hee that taketh aduantage of his poore neighbours necessitie, as when he knoweth him to be enforced to sell for neede, he will then haue it at his owne price, or hee will not buy, and when he is constrainyd agayne, (by occasion), to buy, he will make him then to pay deare for his necessitie ; yet howsoeuer he oppresse him, eyther in buying or selling, (they say), it is no Vsurie, it is but honest trade and traffique.

He that selleth vpon trust, if it bee but for one moneth or sixe weekes, and maketh the buyer to pay fiftie shillings, for that which in readie money he might haue bought for fortie, is he not an Vsurer ?

These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes with dym and obscure lights, and deceiue their eares with false and flattering words, be they not Vsurers ?

These Tradesmen that can buy by one weight and sell by another, be they not Vsurers ?

These Marchants that doe robbe the Realme by carrying away of Corne, Lead, Tinne, Hydes, Leather, and such other like, to the impouerishing of the common wealth, bee they not Vsurers ?

These *Farmers* that doe hurde vppe their Corne, Butter, and Cheese, but of purpose to make a dearth, or that if they thinke it to rayne but one houre to much, or that a drought doe last but two dayes longer then they thinke good, will therfore the next market day hoyse vp the prises of all manner of victuall, be not these Vsurers ?

The *Land-Lordes* that doe sitte out their liuings at

those high rates that their *Tenants* that were wont to keepe good Hospitalitie, are not nowe able to giue a peece of Bread to the *Poore*, be they not Vsurers?

If these, and such other like Capitall Crimes be not reputed to be Vsury, let them guilde them ouer with what other titles they list, I think to be as ill, (or worse), then Vsury.

If the *Bookes of Moses* be aduisedly considered of, there be as dangerous menaces against great *Purchacers* as there be against Vsurers, and God himselfe hath sayd, *Thou shalt not couet thy Neighbour's House*, and our Sauiour Christ hath pronounced a *wo* vnto him that *ioyenth house to house, or land to land*.

I would not haue men, therefore, to flatter themselues too much, or to thinke themselues more honest then, (indeede), they be, for if we relye so much vpon the bare letter, hee breaketh the commandements of God in as expresse a manner that hath money in his purse, and will not lend to his needie *Neighbour*, as he that lendeth money to vse; for the same *God* that forbiddeth to take Vsury, sayth, agayne, *Thou shalt not shut vp thy compassion, but shalt Lend*. And *David*, in his 112 Psalme, sayth, *A good man is mercifull, and Lendeth*.

Our blessed Sauiour agayne in the 6 of *Luke*, *Doe good and lend, looking for nothing againe*.

It followeth, then, when man is enforced by neces-
sitie to borrowe, he that hath money and will not lend,
is no better then an Vsurer.

And as he is thus commanded to lend, so he is en-

ioyned againe not to keepe his neighbours pawne, *If thou take thy neighbour's rayment to pledge, thou shalt restore it before the sunne goe downe*, Exod. 22. And for feare of forgetting, in the 24 of *Deut.* it is yet again Iterated in these words: *If it bee a poore body, thou shalt not sleepe with his pledge.*

So that wee may conclude the Vsurer that will not lend but for gaine, the *Miser* that will not lend at all, the *Land-Lord* that racketh vppe his rents, the *Farmer* that hoyseth vp the market, the Marchant that robbeth the Realme, and all the rest what some euer that doe oppresse the poore, they are all in one predicament, and may bee all called the *Deuils Jorny-men*, for they doe the *Deuils Jorny-worke*.

Here is now to be considered that these loathed sinnes of Couetousnes and Vsury, though they haue pleaded in their owne excuses, yet they haue euermore beene condemned, euen from the beginning, and so they are continued euen at this present houre.

But this monstrous sin of pride, for the which *Angels* were throwne out of *Heauen*, and by the which the vengeance of God hath beene so many times drawne vpon this *Globe of Earth*, it is now growne into a *fashion*, and it is become so general that it is but in vaine for any man to speak against it.

It is community that taketh away the sence, and then example is it that bloteth out the shame; for the power of example being so common as it is, is a motive good enough to perswade that pride is no sinne, which is in such generalitie amongst them that be of the best account.

Pride, if in a Prince, it ruines the loue of his Subjects ; if amongst Subjects, it breedeth neglect of dutie to the Prince ; if in any States-man, it draweth contempt both of Prince and Subject. The pride of this age is growne to that heighth that wee canne hardly knowe a Prince from a peasant, by the view of his apparell, and who is able, by the outward shew, to discerne betweene *Nobilite* and *Seruilitie*, to knowe a Lord from a Lowt, a Lady from a Landresse, or to distinguish betweene a man of worthiness and a base Groome, that is not worth the clothes that belongs to his backe ; they doe shine in silke, in silver, in golde, and that from the head to the very heele.

With titles, with worship, and with words, we may distinguish estates, but we cannot discerne them by their apparell.

It is pride that hath depryued the *Angels* of the ioyes of *Heauen*, it hath beene the ouerthrow of kingdomes and common wealthes here vpon the Earth, it is the inhaunser of all our miseries ; nowe in this age it hath banished Hospitalitie and good housekeeping, it hath raysed the rates and prises of all things, it breedeth dearth and scarsitie, it inforceth theft and robbery, it is pride that filleth the prisons, and bringeth numbers to the gallowes, it is only pride that impouerisheth Cittie, Towne, and Country, it is it that maketh so many Townes-men and Trades-men to play Banckropt.

It is pride that hath expelled our Yeomandry, that hath impouerished our Gentility, it hath replenished

the Realme with bare and needie Knights, and it threatneth a worse succeeding mischiefe then I dare set downe with my pen.

It is pride that hath banished Hospitalitie, and where hospitalitie is once putte to flight there Charitie doth seldome shewe his face, for charitie is so combined with hospitality, that where the one becommeth lame the other immediately begins to halt.

I did neuer beleue the Popes *Transubstantiation*, but now I see charitie is transubstantiated into braue apparrell, when we shall see him that in a Hat-band, a scarfe, a payre of Garters, and in Roses for his shoestrings, will bestow more money, then would haue bought his great grandfather a whole suite of apparel to haue serued him for Sun-dayes.

Thus we doe see it is pride that wasteth and consumeth all things; to vphold it selfe, it destroyeth both loue and hope; it is pernicious in the poore, it is maligned in the rich, neyther can a Prince himselfe that is proud, bee able to shroude himselfe from contempt of the vulgare, but he shalbe despised.

Marry, the best sport in this sinne of pride, is this; we shall neuer see two proud persons, but the one will enuie and despise the other, for pride doth malice pride, and it will mocke and scorne at that pride in another, that it will neuer marke nor see in it selfe; it is a vice that is left destitute of all helpe or defence, or of friendes, it was expelled from *Heauen*, and it is the most consuming plague that may happen vpon the earth, and the best reward that belongeth to it is the burning fire of *Hell*.

Tell me nowe, thou proud presumptuous flesh, hast thou not reason to turne ouer another leafe when wrath seemeth so to threaten, as though there were no sauing fayth left vpon the earth ?

Nature hath sufficiently taught vs to lift vppe the hande before the head, because the head is more worthy then the hand, and the spirit of God that hath created this *Nature*, should it not teach vs to forsake our owne willes and to giue place vnto his, without the which our willes could not be.

We doe neglect the Judgements of God, and notwithstanding the myracles he hath shewed vnto vs we aske with *Pharaos*, *Who is the Lord?* but we doe not lay holde of them to our instruction, perhaps we may sometimes wonder at them, but neuer profit by them.

I haue thus farre presumed to thrust my lynes into the wide worlde to abide the fury of all weathers. If they proue distastfull to some palates, yet I hope there bee other some, that will better relish them, for those that shall thinke them too tart, let them
vse them in the stead of *Veriuyce*,
for sweete meates are euer
best relished with
souresause.

FINIS.

EPILOGUS.

Now after 23 Bookes by me alreadie published, to make them vp iust 2 dozen, and for my last farewell to the Printers Presse, I haue tasked my selfe to such a kinde of subiect, as is better fitting to be roughly rubbed with a reprehending veritie then slightly to be blanched ouer with any smoothing flattery.

I know I shall offend a number, for I haue inueighed against sinnes and that of severall sorts: perhaps some will say I am too bitter, but can we be too serious in exclaiming against Pride, against Adulterie, against Drunkennesse, against Blasphemy, and against such other and so great Impietie, as I thinke since it rayned fire and brim-stone vpon Sodome and Gomorah, there was never the like, if it be not now time then both to speake and to write against those abhominations, it is high time the world were at an end.

I haue not meddled with any thing that is repugnant to religion; and for matters of state, it fits me not to deale withall. For Satyryck inueyghing at any mans pryuate person, it is farre from my thought. Yet I am sure to want no censuring, but I haue armed my selfe against all those reproches wherwith malice it selfe is able to loade me, my soule and conscience bearing witnes that my intent hath beene no other then to drawe men into a due consideration how much they loose of Time, in

hunting after vanities: then lette Detraction whet his tongue, and spare not. If I displease any, if they be not such as are but weake of Iudgement,
I am then sure they bee such as doe knowe themselves to bee faultie.

FINIS.

NOTES.

Note 1.

Sir Thomas Middleton was lord mayor in 1613-14. He was of the *Grocers' Company*, and Thomas Middleton the dramatist wrote the pageant for his mayoralty.

Note 2.

Rich is a great repeater of himself. This seems to have been a favourite passage:—I find it in *The Irish Hubbub*, and elsewhere:—

“ Doth not this deserue the *Hubbub*, to see vgly vice doth beare the name of seemely vertue, and drunkenesse reputed good-fellowship, murther called manhood, lechery named honest loue, impudency good audacitie, pride they call decency, and wretched miserie they call good husbandrie, hypocrisie they call sinceritie, and flatterie doth beare the name of eloquence, truth, and veritie, and that which in former ages was called flat knauerie, passeth by the name of wit and policie.”—*The Irish Hubbub*.

Peacham speaks of drinking as the plague of our English gentry:—

“ Within these fifty or three score years, it was a rare thing with us in England, to see a drunken man, our nation carrying the name of the most sober and temperate of any other in the world. But since we had to do in the quarrel of the Netherlands, about the time of Sir John Norris, his first being there, the custom of drinking and pledging healths was brought over to England, wherein let the Dutch be their own judges

if we equal them not, yea, I think rather excel them."—*Peacham*, p. 223, (Ed. 1634).

And thus, in the very next page, Peacham speaks of the drunkards of his day. Men, in Dekker's language, "drunke according to all the learned rules of drunkenness, as Vpsy-Freeze, Crambo, Parmizunt, &c.—*Seven Deadly Sins*.

"They daily invent new and damnable kinds of carrossing, (as that in North Holland and Frizeland, though among the baser sort), of *upsie Monikedam*, which is, after you have drunke out the drinke to your friend or companion, you must breake the glass full upon his face, and if you miss, you must drinke again, whence proceed quarrelling, reviling, and many times execrable murthers.

"If you tell them how in former ages their forefathers drank water, they swear water is the frogs' drink, and ordained only for the driving of mills, and carrying of boats."—*Peacham*, p. 224, Ed. 1634.

Thomas Heywood, the poet, in his *Philocothonista*, illustrates the drinking customs of his time in a most interesting passage:—

"To title a drunkard by, we (as loath to give him such a name so gross and harsh), strive to character him in a more mincing and modest phrase, as thus:—

"He is a good fellow—or A boon Companion—A mad Greek—A true Trojan—A stiff Blade—One that is steel to the back—A low-Country Soldier—One that will take his rowse—One that will drink deep, though it be a mile to the bottom—One that knows how the cards are dealt—One that will be flush of all four—One that bears up stiff—One whom the Brewer's horse hath bit—One that knows of which side his bread is buttered—One that drinks upse-freeze—One that lays down his ears and drinks—One that drinks supernaculum—One that can sup off his cider.

“Next for variety of drinking cups we have divers and sundry sorts, some of glass, some of box, some of maple, some of holly, &c., mazers, broad-mouthed dishes, Noggins, Whiskins, Piggins, Crinzes, Ale-bowles, Court-dishes, Tankards, Kannes, &c., from a pottle to a pint, from a pint to a gill ; other bottles we have of leather, but they most used amongst the shepherds and harvest people of the country ; small jacks we have in many Ale-houses of the City and suburbs, tipt with silver, besides the great black-jacks, and bombards at the Court, which when the Frenchmen first saw, they reported, at their return into their country, that the Englishmen used to drink out of their boots ; wee have, besides, cups made of horns of beasts, of Cocker-nutts, of goords, of the eggs of Estriches, others made of the shells of divers fishes brought from the Indies and other places, and shining like mother of Pearle. Infinite there are of all measures and fashions.”—*Heywood's Philocothonista*, 1635, p. 45.

For further information on this subject see an extract from Rich's *Irish Hubbub* in the preface to this reprint.

Pickadill, a peece fastened about the top of the coller of a doublet.—*Minsheu*, ed. 1627.

Note 3.

“A *Pickadil* is that round hem, or the several divisions set together about the skirt of a garment or other thing ; also a kinde of stiffe collar, made in fashion of a band. Hence, perhaps, the famous ordinary near *St. James's*, called *Pickadilly*, took denomination, because it was then the outmost, or skirt house of the Suburbs, that way. Others say it took name from this ; that one *Higgins*, a Tailor, who built it, got most of his estate by *Pickadilles*, which in the last age were much worn in England.”—*Blount's Glossographia*, ed. 1656, first ed.

Philips adopts this interpretation in his “World of Words : ”

“ *Pickadil*, the Hem about the skirt of a Garment ; the extremity or utmost end of anything. Whence a great Gaming House built by one Higgins, a Taylor, famous for making such old-fashion’d skirts, was called *Pickadilly*, and a street in the suburbs of London is still known by that name.”—*The Moderne World of Words, or A Universall English Dictionary, collected from the best Authors, by E. P.* fol. 1696.

Ben Jonson speaks of a *picardill* as a new cut of band, much in fashion among men of quality,—men squeamish, sick—

“ Ready to cast at one whose band sits ill,
And then leap mad on a neat picardill.”

Works by Gifford, viii. 370.

Middleton, in 1620, (*The World toss'd at Tennis*), speaks of a *pickadill* in connexion with the shears, the needle, and the hell of a tailor, and the *pickadill* of the poet is explained by Mr. Dyce as “ a collar stiffened with plaits.” Surely the *pickadill* of Middleton was some implement used by the tailor in the manufacture of this stiffened collar.

There is one other use of the word which requires quotation. In Ben Jonson’s *Devil is an Ass*, Pug affectedly says to Mrs. Fitzdottrel,

“ Although,
I am not in due symmetry, the man
Of that proportion—
Or of that truth of *Picardil* in clothes,
To boast a sovereignty o’er ladies ; yet
I know to do my turns, sweet mistress.”

Mr. Gifford has a note on this ;—“ Picardil is simply a diminutive of *picca*, (*Span.* and *Ital.*), a spear head, and was given to this article of foppery from a fancied resemblance of its stiffened plaits to the bristled points of those weapons. Blount thinks, and apparently with justice, that Piccadilly took its name from the sale of the ‘small stiff collars so called,’

which was first set on foot in a house near the western [eastern] extremity of the present street, by one Higgins, a Tailor."

Beaumont and Fletcher speak of a *French pickadel*. (*The Pilgrim*, Act ii. Scene 2.)

The first direct mention made of Piccadilly, is made by the great Lord Clarendon in his History, under the year 1641, where he speaks of "going to a place called Piccadilly, which was a fair house for entertainment and gaming, with handsome gravel walks with shade, and where were an upper and lower bowling green, whither very many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted, both for exercise and conversation."*

This is thought by Pennant to have been the building referred to six years earlier by Garrard, the gossiping correspondent of the great Lord Strafford: "since Spring Gardens was put down," writes Garrard, "we have by a servant of the Lord Chamberlain's, a new Spring Gardens erected in the fields beyond the Meuse, [*i.e.* the Mews at Charing Cross,] where is built a fair house and two bowling greens, made to entertain gamesters and bowlers, at an excessive rate; for I believe it hath cost him above four thousand pounds; a dear undertaking for a gentleman-barber. My Lord Chamberlain much frequents this place, where they bowl great matches."† The lord chamberlain referred to was Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; but Garrard's Gaming House was a distinct building from Clarendon's 'fair house' called Picca-

* Clar. Hist. vol. i. p. 422, ed. 1826.

† *Strafford Letters*, vol. i. p. 435. Garrard's Letter is dated June 24 1635. See also p. 877 of the same volume. "There was a difference like to fly betwixt my Lord Chamberlain and my Lord of Leicester, about a bowling green that my Lord Chamberlain has given his barber leave to set up, in lieu of that in the common garden [Spring Gardens] in the field under my Lord of Leicester's House; but the matter after some ado is made up."—*Howell to Lord Strafford, March 5, 1634.*

dilly. Pennant tells us, moreover, that the name of this new gaming house was Piccadilla-hall, and that it stood where Sackville Street stands. He is incorrect in the name and in the site, for "Vertue saw, in Mr. Bagford's Collection," writes Walpole, "a view of London, published by Norden in 1603, and another plan by T. Porter (Vertue gives no date), in which he observed these particulars:—At the upper end of the Haymarket was a square building called *Pecadilly Hall*; at the end of Coventry Street, a Gaming house, afterwards the mansion and garden of the lord keeper Coventry; and where Gerard Street is was an Artillery ground or garden, made by Prince Henry." Lord Coventry's mansion I conceive to have been the gaming house of Garrard. There is a copy of Porter's map in the library of the society of Antiquaries. The gaming house is in the North East corner of the Haymarket, and *Pecadilly Hall* over against it. The map is without date, but evidently prior to the Restoration.

Aubrey, in his anecdotes of Suckling, says: "Mem. his sisters coming to the Peccadillo-bowling-green, crying for the feare he should lose all [their] portions." (*Letters from the Bodleian*, ii. 545). Suckling died in 1641.

The first Piccadilly was a very short line of road, running no further West than the foot of Sackville Street, the remaining portion of what is now called Piccadilly was known then as Portugal Street (in compliment to Catherine of Braganza), and all beyond was the great Bath Road, or as Agas calls it *the road to Reading*. (See *Strype's map in his Ed. of Stow*, 2 vols. fol. 1720). The street now called Pall Mall, was first known as Catherine Street.

I found the other day, in the burial register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields the following entry:—

"26 Aug. 1636. *Mulier ignota e Piccadilly septa fuit*," and in the Sexton's Book under the 8 June, 1685, "Ann Hill in Piccadilly next the White Bear."

Note 4.

“ It hath been accounted the sum that may be consumed in England in one yeere in Tobacco, is fife hundredth and nineteene thousand three hundred and seventie fife pounds, all spent to smoake, beside spriuate spendings, besides gentlemens chambers, and tauernes, innes and alehouses.”—*Rich (The Irish Hubbub)*.

“ I remember a pretty iest of Tobacco, that was this. A certain Welchman comming newly to London, and beholding one to take tobacco, neuer seeing the like before, and not knowing the manner of it, but perciuing him vent smoake so fast, and supposing his inward parts to be on fire; cried out *O Jhesu, Jhesu man, for the passion of Cod hold, for by Cods splud ty snowts on fire*, and hauing a bowle of beere in his hand, threw it at the others face to quench his smoking nose.”—*Rich (The Irish Hubbub)*.

This is the story commonly told of Sir Walter Raleigh. See it also told of Tarlton in his *Jests* (ed. *Halliwell*, p. 26).

Note 5.

Here is, as I conceive, a distinct allusion to Robert Greene, *Utriusque Academie in Artibus Magister* as on some of his title-pages he ostentatiously terms himself. Greene died in great distress, at the house of a poor shoemaker in Dowgate. Mr. Dyce and Mr. Collier have both of them overlooked this distinct allusion to Greene.

Note 6.

“ Yellow-bands are become so common, to every young giddy-headed gallant, and light heeld mistresse, that me thinks a man should not hardly be hanged without a yellow band, a fashion so much in vse with the vaine fantasticke fooles of this age, for I neuer see or heard a wise man that did vse this base and lewd fashion.—*Rich (The Irish Hubbub)*.

“ It is not yet so long since the new-found-out foolery of yellow starcht bands were taken vp, but that it is within the compasse of our own memories.

“ Yet the open exclamacion that was made by Turner’s wife, at the houre of her death, in the place where she was executed, cannot be hidden, when before the whole multitude that were then present, shee so bitterly protested against the vanitie of those yellow-starcht bands, that her out-cryes (as it was thought) had taken such impression in the hearts of her hearers, that yellow-starcht bands would haue bin ashamed for euer after to haue shewed themselves about the necks, either of men that were wise, or of women that were honest; but we see our expectation hath failed vs, for they began euен then to be more general. then they were before.”—Rich (*The Irish Hubbub*).

Note 7.

The Royal Exchange contained stalls for milliners and toy women, but Rich alludes to the New Exchange in the Strand.







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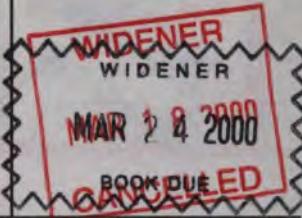
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